

**“NEPOMUCENO LEGACY”: THE CONSTRUCTION OF AN ELITE HERITAGE**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI‘I AT MĀNOA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT  
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF**

**MASTER OF ARTS**

**IN**

**ASIAN STUDIES**

**DECEMBER 2016**

**By**

**Alexander R. Kuestner**

**Thesis Committee:**

**Patricio Abinales, Chairperson**

**Barbara Andaya**

**Vina Lanzona**

**Keywords: genealogy, Philippines, elite, Nepomuceno, celibacy, priests**

Copyright ©2016 Alexander Kuestner

## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis examines the manner in which the Nepomuceno family promoted themselves in two books published in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century. The Nepomucenos are an elite family in the province of Pampanga in the Philippines. They are regionally important in politics and business. Their ancestors founded Holy Angel University, a private Catholic institution. The Nepomucenos used Holy Angel's press to have two books published which promote the family's descent from locally prominent elites in the 18<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, including but not limited to a Spanish priest named Guillermo Masnou. The Philippines is dominated, both politically and economically, by nationally powerful oligarchic families. The Nepomucenos are not one of these as their power is limited within their home province. It is clear from their portrayal of themselves in their books that the Nepomucenos would like readers to believe that the family is just as significant as the oligarchs.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	iii
List of Tables.....	vii
List of Charts.....	ix
Preface.....	xi
Personal Interest Statement.....	xi
Early Development of Thesis.....	xiv
Introduction.....	1
How the Nepomucenos Highlighted their Priestly Ancestry.....	2
Nepomuceno Entrenchment in Positions of Power.....	6
Organization of Thesis.....	6
Chapter 1: Nepomuceno Genealogy and Entrenchment in Pampanga.....	9
Nepomuceno Family Defined and Explanation of Terms.....	9
Genealogical Terms and Concepts.....	10
Introduction.....	12
Descent from a Spanish Priest.....	13
Historical Context.....	15
Chinese Mestizos and Spanish Priests.....	16
The American Period and the Second World War.....	20
Independence.....	24
Nepomuceno Origins and Rise to Power (18 <sup>th</sup> to 20 <sup>th</sup> centuries).....	27
Nepomuceno Family in the 21 <sup>st</sup> century.....	54
Conclusion.....	56
Chapter 2: History of Clerical Celibacy and ‘Illegitimacy’.....	57
Introduction.....	57



History of Priests Having Children (prior to the Council of Trent).....	59
Council of Trent (1545-1563).....	66
History of Children of Priests in the Broader World (Post-Council of Trent).....	69
History of Children of Priests within Spain (Post-Council of Trent).....	73
History of Children of Priests in Post-Trent Spanish Empire (non-Philippines)....	78
Children of Priests Throughout the World (19 <sup>th</sup> -century non-Philippine context)..	82
History of Clerical Celibacy in the Philippines.....	85
Children of Priests outside the Philippines (20 <sup>th</sup> -century context).....	91
Children born out of wedlock (20 <sup>th</sup> -century non-Philippine context).....	95
Children of Priests in the Philippines (late Spanish period to 20 <sup>th</sup> century).....	98
Children of Priests Throughout the World (21 <sup>st</sup> -century context).....	108
Children born out of wedlock (21 <sup>st</sup> -century context).....	111
Conclusion.....	113
Chapter 3: The Construction of an Elite Heritage.....	115
Introduction.....	115
Similarities between the Nepomucenos and the Oligarchic Elites.....	115
Differences between the Nepomucenos and the Oligarchic Families.....	117
Overview of Nepomucenos' 21 <sup>st</sup> -Century Self-Promotions.....	118
Specifics of Nepomucenos' 21 <sup>st</sup> -Century Self-Promotions.....	122
<i>A Cofradia of Two</i> .....	123
<i>Destiny and Destination</i> .....	138
Conclusion (of Chapter 3).....	146
Conclusion (of thesis).....	147

Appendix A: Genealogical Charts and Tables.....	153
Pedigree Charts.....	153
Tables Showing Genealogical Links to Nationally Prominent People.....	182
Appendix B: Summary of People Mentioned in Chapters who are Genealogically Linked to Target Nepomucenos.....	203
Appendix C: Summary of People Mentioned in Chapters who are Not Genealogically Linked to Target Nepomucenos.....	235
Appendix D: Points that Could Merit Additional Research.....	246
Glossary.....	268
Bibliography.....	272

## LIST OF TABLES

1. Organization of Pedigree Charts.....	154
2. Organization of Table Showing Genealogical Links to Nationally Prominent People.....	183
3. Connection #28: Aguinaldo.....	184
4. Connection #28b: Aguinaldo.....	186
5. Connection #29: Quezon.....	187
6. Connection #30: Laurel.....	189
7. Connection #31: Osmena.....	190
8. Connection #32: Roxas.....	191
9. Connection #33: Magsaysay.....	192
10. Connection #34: Ramos.....	193
11. Connection #35: Bonifacio.....	194
12. Connection #36: Malvar.....	195
13. Connection #37: Rizal.....	196
14. Connection #37b: Rizal.....	197
15. Connection #38: Luna.....	198
16. Connection #38b: Luna.....	199
17. Connection #39: Zobel de Ayala.....	200
18. Connection #40: Ejercito.....	202

19. Summary of People Mentioned in Chapters who are Genealogically Linked to Target Nepumocenos.....	203
20. Summary of People Mentioned in Chapters who are Not Genealogically Linked to Target Nepumocenos.....	235

## LIST OF CHARTS

1. Nepomuceno Part One.....	155
2. Villasenor.....	156
3. Gomez.....	157
4. Aquino Part One.....	158
5. Aquino Part Two.....	159
6. Romualdez.....	160
7. Valdes.....	161
8. Davrit.....	162
9. Tayag.....	163
10. Henson.....	164
11. Nepomuceno Part Two.....	165
12. Wilkerson.....	166
13. Mendiola.....	167
14. del Rosario.....	168
15. Revelino.....	169
16. de Miranda.....	170
17. Gonzalez.....	171
18. Escaler.....	172
19. Madrigal.....	173
20. Marcos.....	174
21. Santos.....	175
22. Nepomuceno & Henson.....	176
23. Lopez.....	177

24. Masnou.....	178
25. de Sequera.....	179
26. Nepomuceno Part Three.....	180
27. Franco.....	181

## PREFACE

### Personal Interest Statement

This thesis grew out of my interest in genealogy. My parents first introduced me to genealogical research when I was ten years old. I started out with a family tree of about 300 people which was based on primary source documents that had been handed down within my family since the 19<sup>th</sup> century and on compiled family tree charts dating back to 1634 that earlier generations of genealogists in my family had created. I was fascinated with genealogy and it quickly became my main hobby.

I have been interested in history for as far back as I can remember. As I learned more about my family history, my interest was directed to the areas and time periods that were most relevant to the ancestors I was researching. My ancestors were from many different levels of society, but I found early on that the few who were from upper-class backgrounds were much better documented than the farmers, cupbearers, etc. My discovery of descent from minor British and German aristocrats in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and earlier fueled my interest in European political history. I read many books about European politics and the political marriage practices between various dynasties and other factions by the time I was about 14. I used the information in them as sources in order to extend my genealogy further back. Some of my favorites included *The Mammoth Book of British Kings and Queens* and *The Story of the Irish Race*. My family tree grew to about 10,000 people by the time I finished junior high. One of the results of my childhood genealogical research was that although I was still very interested in history and continued to use the families

that I researched as a means to direct my historical studies, I started to tire of the predictability of European and American history. I had traced my own ancestors back as far as I thought was possible and was interested in pursuing something new.

I started to research the genealogy of friends and acquaintances who expressed interest in the subject. In some cases, I came to consider it an icebreaker to get to know someone that I was interested in getting to know better by volunteering to research their genealogy for them. Most of the people that I knew growing up had European ancestors so the types of sources and research techniques that I used were essentially the same as those which I used when focusing on my own ancestors. When I was in eighth grade I had a friend who was half-Filipino. She expressed interest in genealogy, so of course I researched her ancestry. I quickly traced her European- descent mother's side of the family back to medieval times, but at that time I knew nothing about the Philippines or where to locate Philippine sources so I was unable to find anything at all about her first-generation immigrant father. I tried to research him anyway and as I had before I started to read about the history of the area that the family I was attempting to trace was from. I learned soon after that about the American colonization of the Philippines (which had never been mentioned during my U.S. history lessons at school before) and I became very intrigued.

I essentially never stopped trying to learn more about researching Philippine genealogy, and this eventually expanded to include less potent interests in other parts of Asia (some of which were similarly driven by researching the genealogies of families from those areas). My own family tree continued to grow over time, but



because I was less interested in Europe and North America, I started to selectively focus on researching lines that I thought might lead into more interesting parts of the world. Some of these connections were extremely roundabout and distant (through multiple allied lines and extremely distant cousin relationships), but I gradually traced lines from my family tree eastwards from Europe through the Middle East to India and China, with the intent of eventually connecting them to Southeast Asia. Many of these connections were through the political marriages of elites. I was never able to trace any of my actual ancestors or even remotely close relatives of ancestors anywhere closer to the Philippines than China and India (both more than 1,000 years ago), but I did eventually manage to find extremely distant genealogical connections there. For example, I found that my friend from eighth grade shared a common ancestor with me on her mother's side in 14<sup>th</sup>-century England and I used that as a pretext to connect her father's side Philippine ancestors (whom I eventually did find) into my tree.

Almost all the lines that I put significant time into researching eventually connected into my main family tree somewhere, although some of these were very obscure links. As a result, I came to assume that all humans were related somehow (although not necessarily traceably due to societal variation in record keeping/preservation) and that the interest was not so much discovering whether or not I was related to someone, but rather what was the closest genealogical link that I could find. I continued to expand upon my family tree throughout high school and college. At time of writing in October 2016, I had 156,347 people in my main family tree.

## **Early Development of Thesis**

When I started looking for a project for my thesis, I naturally thought of doing something related to genealogical research. I had some early ideas about finding some sort of connection between the pre-colonial elite families of the Philippines and Indonesia since that is similar to what I had been trying to do earlier in my non- school related genealogical pursuits. I was also interested in the prevalence and the extent of acceptability of what I initially referred to as ‘unofficial polygamy’ and whether or not this was a remnant of pre-Christian Philippine culture. My friend, whose genealogy I researched in the Philippines, told me that her grandfather (who was a wealthy ethnic Chinese businessman) lived with several different women at the same time, and that her ethnically Filipino grandmother was not his legal wife at the time of my friend’s father’s birth, although her grandparents did legally marry 20 years later. She thought this was strange, but I had since learned in school about how Ferdinand Marcos’s wife, Imelda, grew up in similar circumstances. I became interested in finding out if such practices were common among elite families in the Philippines and why. It is important to note that it has never been my intention to pass judgment on the morality or lack thereof of anyone by saying that if they have children in a relationship that they label as marriage that it is better or worse than those who do not use that term or those who practice polygamy versus monogamy, etc. My interest lay in the seeming contradiction of publicly well-known people engaging in what would ostensibly be perceived as very offensive and/or strange behavior by the culture in which they resided, but there not actually being any such conflict due to apparent public acceptance. I find this cultural

acceptance and the reasons behind it academically interesting, but I am in no way offended by what historic people did or did not call their relationships. I am coming from a position of academic neutrality in that regard.

My hypothesis was that perhaps the seeming acceptance of elite polygamy was either related in some way to Islam since that was a prominent religion in the Philippines prior to the Spanish colonization and Muslims are allowed to have more than one wife in their religion, or that maybe it was related to the cultural practices in China that have historically favored polygamy among elites. I began the project that would become my thesis by checking out books from Hamilton Library about several different elite families from throughout the Philippines. One was about the Nepomucenos and another about the Lopez family, neither of which I had previously known anything about. I researched these families while paying particular attention to any instances where elites seemed to practice unofficial polygamy (as in they had what were otherwise long-term committed sexual relationships with more than one person but were not legally married to all of them). One of my early discoveries was Maria Rosa Henson and how the long-term relationship between her parents and her semi-official acknowledgement by her father, despite his not being married to her mother, seemed similar but not quite the same as the unofficial polygamy practiced by other elites (some of the differences being that their relationship was perceived as nonconsensual by their daughter, but was only sexual before the daughter was born, and yet continued to an extent until the daughter was an adult). Maria Rosa Henson was of particular interest because on her father's side she was related to the Nepomucenos in several different ways. The highly-interconnected nature of the

Nepomuceno and Henson families, the fact that many members were historically significant, and the availability of several books written by people with either the Nepomuceno or Henson surnames caused me to initially focus heavily on them both. I ultimately chose the Nepomucenos as the main family for my thesis since I could find more pertinent information about them, and they were more numerically significant.

It was while I was in the process of following the line of research relating to Maria Rosa Henson's parents, that I found several instances in which Catholic priests (who were members of these families) had long-term sexual relationships with women but did not actually marry them. The first part of the family tree that I made for my thesis was about Ferdinand Marcos's family, since his wife's parents were the elites that I had heard about in class as having practiced unofficial polygamy. I had also pursued evidence that Ferdinand Marcos himself practiced unofficial polygamy, such as his relationship with Evelin Hegyesi and their resulting daughter, Analisa Josefa Hegyesi. I stopped this line of research because the evidence was inconclusive. I found a relatively distant genealogical connection between Imelda's family and the Nepomucenos in the book about them that I had checked out, so I focused on them as they were an extension of the tree that I had already started to research. As I learned more about the Nepomucenos' priest ancestor and how they promoted this relationship, I gradually shifted my focus away from my original topic. My thesis came to be based on the Nepomuceno family and their promotion of their elite heritage, especially their seeming pride in their descent from a Catholic priest. I spent substantial time looking for a second family that also claimed descent from a priest in order to establish a pattern. I found the Gonzalez family of Apalit, Pampanga that

descends from Fr. Fausto Ambrosio Lopez, which was promoted online by the priest's living relatives. For a few months, I researched both the Nepomucenos and the Gonzalezes, and the two families were equally important in my thesis. I ultimately decided to put my primary focus on the Nepomucenos and for the Gonzalezes to have a supporting role because there was considerably more information available about the former.

The pride that the Nepomucenos feel about being descended from a Catholic priest (as is evidenced in how the relationship is described in books about the subject that were written on behalf of the Nepomucenos) seemed contradictory given the strong association between clerical celibacy and Catholicism. Learning why the Nepomucenos felt comfortable promoting their genealogical descent from a priest via a Catholic university press became a prominent aspect of my research as a result. I also researched the history of clerical celibacy throughout the world, including how it was perceived, and how people who were known to descend from Catholic priests were treated in different places and times.

Additionally, I continued to research the genealogy of the Nepomuceno family, with emphasis placed on finding connections between them and other elites in the Philippines. I gradually found connections (many of them distant) between the Nepomucenos and eleven out of sixteen Philippine presidents, as well as numerous other regionally and nationally significant elites. This included also finding distant genealogical links between the Nepomucenos and the elite Lopez family (that were the subject of one of the other Philippine genealogy books that I had originally

checkout out of Hamilton Library when I first started the research for this thesis). I also found allied line connections between the Nepomucenos and the Gonzalezes (whom I had previously used as an example of a second family who claimed priestly descent). At time of writing in October 2016, the family tree that I made for this thesis had come to comprise 21,245 people.

As a result of my genealogical research, I noticed various ways in which the Nepomucenos promoted themselves relative to other elite families, especially those that are generally considered more politically and economically prominent than them. The Nepomucenos are an elite family, but their significance is essentially limited to Pampanga province and especially to the area around Angeles City. As much as they seek to promote themselves based on the grandeur of their ancestors, and to frame themselves as an elite family on par with their distant presidential cousins (such as the Aquinos), the Nepomucenos really are just a regionally important family. They do not have the same level of political or economic might as the nationally prominent elites that comprise the oligarchic families. Likewise, the Nepomucenos' ancestors in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries were important in terms of their political hold on provincial towns and the economic strength of their small businesses, but even then, the Nepomucenos were not at the same level as the oligarchic families who controlled vast estates and wielded considerably more power. The Nepomucenos have used the way that they promote their genealogy as a means to create a history that makes themselves appear just as old (in terms of time in power) and significant as the oligarchs. This way that the Nepomucenos have framed themselves has, therefore, become a significant focal point for my thesis.

## INTRODUCTION

In 2004, the book, *A Cofradia of Two: Oral History on the Family Life and Lay Religiosity of Juan D. Nepomuceno and Teresa G. Nepomuceno of Angeles, Pampanga* by Erlita Mendoza, matter-of-factly describing the Nepomuceno family's descent from a 19<sup>th</sup>-century Spanish priest, was published by Holy Angel University Press in Angeles, Pampanga, Philippines. Four years later in 2008 a second book, *Destiny and Destination: The Extraordinary Story and History of Holy Angel University, 1933-2008* by Robert P. Tangingco and Lisa N. Mapua, which promoted the Nepomucenos' descent from the same priest, was published by the same university press. The university was founded by the Nepomuceno family and was still under their control, and although the books were written by unrelated individuals, they were based on extensive collaboration with and interviews of Nepomuceno family members. Despite ostensibly being about the history of Holy Angel University, this second book also promoted the Nepomucenos' descent from many other locally prominent historical figures. The Nepomuceno family's highly devout ties to Catholicism and connection to that faith are repeatedly stressed throughout both books.

The Nepomucenos are a regionally prominent elite family that have held positions of political, economic, educational, and religious power within Pampanga since the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Nevertheless, they have never had the same degree of significance as the oligarchic families that dominate Philippine politics at the national level, such as the Cojuangcos or the Aquinos. Despite more than two centuries of relative prominence, the Nepomucenos' power remains limited to their home province. The Nepomucenos used their private university press to portray their genealogy in a

way that highlights the similarities between their own history and that of the oligarchic families of the Philippines. The way that they have promoted their history essentially uses genealogy as a means to reinvent the Nepomucenos as having a similarly important background as the Aquinos and other oligarchs. This included their descent from politically and religiously important figures. The fact that they openly promoted their descent from a priest through their privately owned Catholic university press is particularly striking as it shows the degree to which the Nepomucenos sought to establish a connection to the Spanish colonial regime. This demonstrates how much more important this relationship was to them than the potential issues that their priestly descent raised due to the fact that in Catholicism clergy are bound by canon law to be celibate.

The Nepomucenos did hold positions of local prominence in Pampanga, but these were mostly local political posts such as mayor and councilman. They controlled local utility companies, a mall, and a private university. These positions and companies were certainly significant at a local level within the context of Pampanga, but they did not hold the same degree of prominence as those of the vast landed estates of the oligarchs and the resulting nationally important political positions to which these true elites could aspire, such as president and senator.

### **How the Nepomucenos Highlighted their Priestly Ancestry**

Although the connection between the Nepomucenos and the priest, Fr. Nicolas Guillermo Masnou, is clearly described in *A Cofradia of Two* and *Destiny and Destination*, as are some aspects of the priest's relationship with his lover, Patricia Mercado, the whole relationship is mentioned in *A Cofradia of Two* to detail the early



lives and families of Holy Angel University's two co-founders, one of whom had a grandfather who was a priest. It could be argued that the statements about the priest in *A Cofradia of Two* were only included in order to relate the facts since Teresa Gomez (who was a co-founder of the university and the mother of the Nepomucenos involved in publishing *A Cofradia of Two*) did have a grandfather for a priest. This may be true, but Teresa's life could have been described in much the same way without an inclusion of any information about her grandfather. Since he died when Teresa was less than two years old, he would have had little if any direct influence on her life, so he could have been left out if the point was merely to describe her life.

It is, therefore, likely that the inclusion of the priestly descent in *A Cofradia of Two* is a deliberate attempt to promote the Nepomuceno family's genealogical ties to the priest. This is made even more compelling by the fact that a year earlier, a member of the Nepomuceno family (and son of the two Holy Angel University co-founders) self-published a book which actively promoted the descent of his family from the same priest. This book, *The Gomez Family of Angeles, Pampanga and the Mercado Relatives*, by Carmelo Nepomuceno (a son of Juan de Dios Nepomuceno and Teresa Gomez and an interviewee for *A Cofradia of Two*) does not merely describe the Nepomuceno family's priestly descent as a side point of a larger issue. Instead, it presents the conclusion that the author's great-grandfather, who was recorded in primary sources as Nicolas Gomez, was in fact a Spanish priest named Guillermo Masnou. The first chapter of *The Gomez Family of Angeles* is entirely focused on presenting numerous primary sources, such as baptisms, as evidence to prove the veracity of this connection. The children of Patricia Mercado and Nicolas Gomez

were described (in primary source material translated by Carmelo Nepomuceno) as “legitimate offspring,” which strongly implies that Patricia and Nicolas were married. The documents were signed by Guillermo Masnou, which in *A Cofradia of Two*, *The Gomez Family of Angeles*, and *Destiny and Destination* is stated to be Nicolas Gomez’s real name. Since Fray Masnou concealed his true name on the documents it is likely that he was not legally married to Patricia, although both the records from the period and the books written by their descendants either imply or explicitly state that they were in a committed multi-year relationship that resulted in several children. It would have been much easier to leave it alone and just write a genealogy that lists Nicolas Gomez as the ancestor without any mention of his being a priest, but Carmelo Nepomuceno clearly put substantial work into proving that his great-grandfather was a priest.

Once this genealogical relationship was established, the next 262 pages in the book comprise family trees and related reports which document the descent of thousands of Nepomucenos and others from Fr. Guillermo Masnou. *The Gomez Family of Angeles* is cited as a source in *A Cofradia of Two* as evidence of the relationship between Guillermo Masnou and his girlfriend (or perhaps wife) Patricia Mercado.

*Destiny and Destination* also publicized the Nepomucenos’ descent from Fr. Guillermo Masnou and Patricia Mercado. However, unlike *A Cofradia of Two*, the relationship between the Nepomucenos and the priest is promoted with a clear sense of pride and not merely stated as a matter-of-fact reference to Teresa Gomez’s family background. Fr. Masnou is prominently mentioned in a list of the Nepomucenos’ illustrious forebears in a section that promotes the ways in which past generations of Nepomucenos and their relatives influenced local history. Of the Nepomuceno

ancestors mentioned in that section, Fr. Masnou is intentionally shown in a way that makes him stand out from the others. There is a glossy painting of him with a caption that identifies him as both a priest and a Nepomuceno ancestor. The text of that section of the book also highlights his connection to the Nepomucenos and his work as a priest. There were no pictures of most of the other prominent Nepomuceno ancestors mentioned in this section, and the people who did have pictures were in group photos. Since Fr. Masnou was the only one who had his own freestanding picture (even though many of the others were more recent so would be more likely to have existing photos) he is more prominently promoted than the others. Essentially, the Nepomucenos seemed to think that it was more important to highlight their descent from a priest than from the government officials mentioned in the same part of the book. The Nepomucenos' genealogical relationships with these other elites are, nonetheless, mentioned as part of the effort to show that the Nepomucenos had a family history that held a similar degree of prestige as the oligarchs.

The implication from the combined evidence in *The Gomez Family of Angeles*, *A Cofradia of Two*, and *Destiny and Destination* is that in the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the Nepomuceno family felt proud of their descent from a Spanish priest to the extent that they shared that knowledge with the world through the publication of their three books. The pride that the Nepomuceno family felt in their descent from priests was part of a larger design in which they sought to inflate their family's prestige by portraying their history in a similar manner as that of the oligarchs.

## **Nepomuceno Entrenchment in Positions of Power**

By the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, when their three books were published, the Nepomucenos were deeply entrenched in Pampanga politics and its governmental infrastructure, including utilities and other important businesses. This involvement has a long history. The earliest documentation of the Nepomuceno family achieving local prominence was when one of its members became *gobernadorcillo* of San Fernando in Pampanga in 1795.<sup>1</sup> Many individuals with the surname 'Nepomuceno' and their extended families held leadership positions in politics, education, religion, and business from 1852 up until the present. In some cases, opposing candidates in elections were both from the extended Nepomuceno family, so no matter which side won, the Nepomucenos would remain in power. This context makes it apparent that the Nepomucenos were a significant force in the local power structure. This meant that the Nepomucenos were at a point where they really did have sufficient source material from which to construct a history for themselves which they could portray in such a way as to give the appearance that they rivaled that of the oligarchs.

## **Organization of Thesis**

In addition to this introduction and the conclusion, this thesis is organized into three chapters, four appendices, and a glossary. The first chapter focuses on the deeply entrenched nature of the Nepomuceno family and allied lines in economically and politically significant positions in Pampanga from the late 18<sup>th</sup> to the early 21<sup>st</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Mariano A. Henson, *A Brief History of the Town of Angeles in the Province of Pampanga, Philippines: From its Foundation in 1796 A.D. to the Present 1947-1948*, (San Fernando, Philippines: Ing Katiwala Press, 1948), 1-3; Renato D. Tayag, *The Sinners of Angeles: For whom Don Juan Prays Daily*, (Angeles City, Philippines: Renato D. Tayag, 1960), 3-4.

centuries. The beginning of the chapter features a brief overview of the topic and explanation of the genealogical terminology used in the chapter, followed by a short, summarized history of the Philippines and Pampanga that shows how the Nepomuceno family fits into those events. This is followed by the main body of the chapter which goes into great detail about the history of the Nepomuceno family (and members of its allied lines and maternal ancestral lines who held significant positions in the region). The organization of this main section is explained in detail in the beginning of the chapter, but essentially it is structured in a similar fashion to the family tree upon which it is based. It starts with the furthest back male line ancestor who was known to be significant and details his life accomplishments, and then describes his wife and her significance (and that of her ancestors) followed by those of their children. After that, the next generation of the Nepomuceno male line is described in the same way up until the children of the Holy Angel University co-founders who were involved in the publication of *A Cofradia of Two* and *Destiny and Destination*.

The second chapter focuses on the history of clerical celibacy in Christianity, beginning with the early period prior to the divisions between Catholicism and Protestantism. It starts with a brief overview which introduces the topic. It then describes the history of the issue in chronological order. The chapter is broken into different sections based on the era or part of the world being described. The later parts of the chapter focus on the ways in which the offspring of priests were perceived and treated in different parts of the world after the schism between Catholicism and Protestantism occurred. I could find insufficient information about how the offspring of priests were perceived or treated in the Philippines prior to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, so although

a history of Philippine Catholicism is included, it does not relate to clerical offspring until the 1800s.

The third chapter is about the ways in which the Nepomucenos recast their genealogy to portray themselves in a similar light to the oligarchic families. It contains the most detailed descriptions of how the family is portrayed in the books that promoted the Nepomucenos' elite ancestry. This chapter compares and contrasts the Nepomucenos' own portrayal of their family's historical significance to that of the oligarchs. It also provides analysis of the Nepomucenos' portrayal of their importance versus the historical reality.

Chapter 3 is followed by the conclusion of the thesis. The conclusion starts out by summarizing the main points that were made in chapters 1-3. The points made in the overall thesis are wrapped up in concluding statements, which constitute the last arguments of the thesis.

## CHAPTER 1: NEPOMUCENO GENEALOGY AND ENTRENCHMENT IN PAMPANGA

### Nepomuceno Family Defined and Explanation of Terms

The focus of this chapter is on the Nepomuceno family who were involved in the publication of *A Cofradia of Two* and *Destiny and Destination*. More specifically, this chapter highlights the deeply entrenched nature of the Nepomuceno family in the power structure of their community, both historically and when *A Cofradia of Two* and *Destiny and Destination* were published in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century. The family's priestly ancestry was through a maternal line that branched off from the Nepomuceno male line in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century when Teresa Gomez married Juan de Dios Nepomuceno.<sup>1</sup> Teresa's grandfather was a priest, and although he was not a Nepomuceno, he is just as much an ancestor of the 21<sup>st</sup> century Nepomuceno family as those who bore that surname in his era. In addition to maternal line ancestors, there are also female line descendants and those born of paternal lines who did not take their father's surname; these people, likewise, do not have the Nepomuceno surname but are just as much related as those who do. For example, Juan de Dios Nepomuceno and Teresa Gomez had both sons and daughters.<sup>2</sup> The sons carried on the Nepomuceno name, such that it is still borne by their male-line descendants today. The daughters of the same couple also had children, but they carried on their own fathers' surnames, so that their descendants today do not have the Nepomuceno surname. In cases where couples were not married, it was often (although not always) the case that their children would carry the

---

<sup>1</sup> Erlita P. Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two: Oral History on the Family Life and Lay Religiosity of Juan D. Nepomuceno and Teresa G. Nepomuceno of Angeles, Pampanga*, (Angeles City, Philippines: The Juan D. Nepomuceno Center for Kapampangan Studies at Holy Angel University, 2004),98.

<sup>2</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 30.

mother's surname instead of the father's. As a result, their descendants do not have the Nepomuceno name. Regardless of whether or not a particular person's Nepomuceno ancestor was male or female, married or not, they are still genetically part of the same family and will, therefore, be referred to as such.

### **Genealogical Terms and Concepts**

There are several genealogical terms and concepts that are used throughout this thesis. In genealogy, there is a concept called a 'line,' which refers to an easily discernible descent from one person to another. The most commonly accepted usage of the term 'line' is when it is in reference to people with a particular surname. In the case of the Nepomucenos, for instance, the furthest back ancestor with that surname was Pasqual Nepomuceno. The descent from Pasqual to Juan de Dios Nepomuceno is the Nepomuceno 'male line.' Juan de Dios's mother, grandmothers, great-grandmothers, etc. and all their ancestors are each representatives of additional lines.

This brings us to the next concept, the 'allied line.' Every time a couple marries, two lines become connected. In many cultures marriages were used to form alliances between different peoples or clans. A commonly known example of a culture that actively practiced marriage alliances is that of the political elites of Europe, particularly the noble families. They have done so for millennia and are likely the origin of the term. Other cultures, such as the Philippines from "ancient times" to the "present day," also practiced marriage alliances for political purposes.<sup>3</sup> Although etymologically based on

---

<sup>3</sup> Tomas D. Andres, *Negotiating by Filipino Values*, (Manila, Philippines: Divine Word Publications, 1988), 17.



the concept of a political alliance formed through a marriage between two peoples, in the context of genealogical terminology, the term 'allied line' is a line that is connected by marriage, but is not necessarily an ancestral line or the main line upon which the study is based. These could be any two lines that are connected through a marriage, and the motivation behind the marriage (be it political or otherwise) is not important. This is simply a term for referring to people that are connected to each other through the marriage of their relatives and not by blood. In layman's terms, they are 'in-laws,' but the term is usually used to refer to more distant relatives than would typically be included when describing an in-law relationship. An 'ancestral line' is simply composed of the antecedents of a particular person.

In the case of the Nepomucenos who published *A Cofradia of Two*, this means that all their ancestors (both those of the Nepomuceno male line and those of the numerous female lines) are included in the concept of ancestral lines. In this thesis, the term allied line refers to any non-ancestral line that is connected by marriage to the ancestors of the Nepomucenos who published *A Cofradia of Two*. This includes spouses of siblings and others who were/are related to the Nepomuceno ancestral lines, but are not ancestors of the Nepomucenos who published *A Cofradia of Two* and, hence, may not be connected to them by blood.

Another important genealogical concept is that the birth name is always used to avoid confusion that might arise from referring to the same person by different names at various stages in their lives. It is also a standard practice in genealogical research. The way this is most commonly seen in this study is with how women are always referred to

by their maiden names. Another way that this concept is used in this thesis is when priests are referred to by their birth names, even if they often went by an alias. Names not given at birth are mentioned when the situation merits. Prominent people, who are generally known by their married names (such as Imelda Romualdez, who is better known as Imelda Marcos), are referred to in the same fashion as everyone else (in order to maintain consistency), but their married names are also mentioned when deemed necessary so their identities are clear.

### **Introduction**

This chapter examines the ancestral lines of the Nepomuceno family and how they fit into the historical context of the Philippines and Pampanga. It gives a historical overview of the general history of the islands that now comprise the Philippines and of Pampanga province, followed by short descriptions of how the Nepomuceno family can be placed into that history. This brief overview is followed by the main body of this chapter, which consists of far more detailed information regarding each generation of the Nepomuceno family. The sources for the information about the Nepomuceno history are cited in the main section that specifically emphasizes the deep entrenchment of the family. Nepomuceno-specific sources that are cited in the main section are not also cited for the same information in the brief summarized overview. The detailed history of the Nepomucenos begins with the earliest known members of the family's male line and their social prominence.

The more specific focus is on the line from which the Nepomucenos who published *A Cofradia of Two, Destiny and Destination* and *The Gomez Family of*

*Angeles Pampanga* in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century descend, so only their ancestors and the close relatives of those ancestors are mentioned. In cases where nationally prominent figures (such as Ferdinand Marcos and Benigno Aquino) are more distantly connected, they are briefly mentioned in the context of the allied line through which they fit into the tree. However, discussion is limited because they are not intended to be the center of attention. After each generation of the Nepomuceno male line is described in detail (in relation to its relative social prominence), the line of that generation's female ancestor is described in the same format. The descriptions of each maternal ancestral line begin with the connection to the Nepomucenos and then go back in history from there until the earliest known generation or when knowledge of social prominence or other important factors ceases. After the female line ancestors are described in full, the next generation of the Nepomuceno male line is detailed, whereupon the process is repeated. The chapter concludes by summarizing where the Nepomuceno family was socially and politically at the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

### **Descent from a Spanish Priest**

Catholicism has been central to Philippine culture since the Spanish colonial period.<sup>4</sup> One of the religion's most basic tenets is that priests are not supposed to marry, have children, or have any romantic or sexual affiliation.<sup>5</sup> As a predominantly Catholic country with a generally conservative outlook, the religious restrictions regarding clerical celibacy would ostensibly apply to priests in the Philippines in the

---

<sup>4</sup> Paul A. Rodell, *Culture and Customs of the Philippines*, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2002), 141.

<sup>5</sup> Eulogos, "The Obligations and Rights of Clerics," in *Code of Canon Law*, [http://www.intratext.com/IXT/ENG0017/\\_PX.HTM](http://www.intratext.com/IXT/ENG0017/_PX.HTM) (accessed August 16, 2016).

same sense as practiced elsewhere. In spite of this, a considerable number of priests have romantic relationships with women and have done so since at least the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>6</sup> This is not universally accepted in the contemporary Philippines, despite being comparatively prevalent relative to many other Catholic countries (although some countries, such as Peru, have similar contemporary issues).<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, the extent of priestly romantic connections in the Philippines is openly acknowledged to the point where the press of a private university (Holy Angel), actually published a book (*A Cofradia of Two: Oral History on the Family Life and Lay Religiosity of Juan D. Nepomuceno and Teresa G. Nepomuceno of Angeles, Pampanga*) in 2004 which matter-of-factly stated that the grandfather of the institution's co-founder had been a priest.<sup>8</sup> As noted in the introduction, the book lists biographical information about Fr. Nicolas Masnou, highlighting his romantic relationship with a Filipino woman, Patricia Mercado, which resulted in six children.<sup>9</sup> The same institution also published a second book, *Destiny and Destination: The Extraordinary Story and History of Holy Angel University 1933-2008*, in 2008, which further promoted the Nepomucenos' genealogical descent from Fr. Masnou. In 2002, a son of Holy Angel University's founders, Carmelo Nepomuceno, published a different book (*The Gomez Family of Angeles Pampanga and the Mercado Relatives*), which states in no uncertain terms that the Nepomuceno family descends from a priest. Even though the Catholic Church forbade its clergy to marry, Carmelo Nepomuceno's book quotes baptismal records of the priest's children,

---

<sup>6</sup> William E. Phipps, *Clerical Celibacy: The Heritage*, (New York: Continuum, 2004), 201; Raquel A.G. Reyes, *Love, Passion and Patriotism: Sexuality and the Philippine Propaganda Movement, 1882-1892*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 117.

<sup>7</sup> Phipps, *Clerical Celibacy*, 201-202.

<sup>8</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 95.

<sup>9</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 98.

which lists them as “legitimate” offspring resulting from a “legitimate marriage.”<sup>10</sup> This implies a marriage between the priest and the children’s mother.

### **Historical Context**

By the time the Nepomuceno family rose to prominence (at least in the historical record) during the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Spanish had already been in control of much of the Philippines for 200 years. Despite the great extent of their empire’s Philippine holdings and its significant cultural impact, the Spanish themselves were not numerous.<sup>11</sup> The relatively small numbers of Spanish personnel were able to rule over the vast territory of the Philippines due to their use of converted native troops that they influenced through Catholicism as well as the use of the Chinese mestizos as secular administrators.<sup>12</sup> Outside the Spanish colonial administration nexus of Manila, the Spanish relied very heavily on the Chinese mestizos to oversee the day-to-day operations of the colonial state and maintain control over the Indios.<sup>13</sup> This dependence on Chinese mestizo administrators, such as *gobernadorcillos*, can be seen repeatedly in the context of the Nepomuceno family of Pampanga and its allied lines (both in Pampanga and in other parts of Central Luzon). The Villasenors were administrators of

---

<sup>10</sup> Carmelo Nepomuceno, *The Gomez Family of Angeles, Pampanga and the Mercado Relatives*, (Manila: Philippines, C. Nepomuceno, 2002), 14-15.

<sup>11</sup> Juan R. Lodaes, “Languages, Catholicism, and Power in the Hispanic Empire (1500-1700),” in *Spanish Empire*, ed. Nelsy Echavez-Solano and Kenya C. Dworkin y Mendez, (Nashville, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press, 2007), 28.

<sup>12</sup> Spencer Tucker, *The Encyclopedia of the Spanish –American and Philippine-American Wars: A Political, Social, and Military History*, Vol. 1, (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2009), 487.

<sup>13</sup> Michael E. Brown and Sumit Ganguly, *Government and Ethnic Relations in Asia and the Pacific*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1997), 327-328.; E. Wickberg, “The Chinese Mestizo in Philippine History,” *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, vol. 5, no. 1, pp 62-100, (March 1964): 82, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20067476> (accessed August 16, 2016).; Andrew R. Wilson, *Ambition and Identity: Chinese Merchant Elites in Colonial Manila, 1880-1916*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004), 85.

both Chinese and Indio descent who ruled over Lucban during the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Lucban is in southeastern Luzon, about 120 miles from Angeles. A daughter from that family married an Indio from the Nepomuceno male line. Henceforth, their descendants (who through the Villasenors were Chinese mestizos) held many political offices throughout the region, thereby continuing the tradition of Chinese mestizos wielding political power for the Spanish at the local level.

### **Chinese Mestizos and Spanish Priests**

The Chinese began arriving in the islands that are now known as the Philippines prior to the arrival of the Spanish. Early relations between the Chinese and the colonial administration were very negative and led to frequent clashes, culminating in the recurring banishment and subsequent return of many ethnic Chinese from the Philippines, beginning as early as 1603. These conflicts were due to the Spanish perception of the Chinese as a threat to their rule.<sup>14</sup> During the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, relations between the Spanish and the Chinese began to change because the Spanish came to see allowing the Chinese to remain in the Philippines as more advantageous to their own agendas. They also reasoned that by converting the Chinese to Catholicism they would become “a dependable group of Catholic Chinese merchants and artisans loyal to Spain” and because they thought that it would help further the Spanish cause of converting people in China.<sup>15</sup> By the early 19<sup>th</sup> century the Chinese had become a distinct social/legal class in the Spanish Philippines.<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup> Brown and Ganguly, *Government and Ethnic Relations*, 326.

<sup>15</sup> E. Wickberg, “The Chinese Mestizo in Philippine History,” 68.

<sup>16</sup> Brown and Ganguly, *Government and Ethnic Relations*, 327.

The Spanish colonial system was based on a racial hierarchy that mandated how each group would be treated and gave it different degrees of taxation. The Chinese followed the Spanish in terms of rights.<sup>17</sup> The Chinese, however, were required to pay higher taxes than their Indio counterparts.<sup>18</sup> This was offset by the fact that the relative prominence of the economic positions (such as merchant) allowed the Chinese by the Spanish meant that many of them would earn more money than most Indios. The Spanish assumed that the Chinese were mostly a merchant class and that the Indios were mostly farm laborers. As a result, they charged the Chinese more money in taxes than they charged Indios, but the Spanish also required the Indios to pay a labor tax. The Chinese were exempt from providing tax-induced labor to the Spanish because the colonial authorities believed that they could generate more money if they were left to their own devices (because the Chinese were assumed to run businesses).<sup>19</sup> A *gobernadorcillo* was the “highest [position] open to Indios in the civil government” during the Spanish colonial period. It was economically useful to hold such a position because a *gobernadorcillo* had “exemption from [taxes] and forced labor” and also had the power to “assign forced labor for monetary consideration...among the hapless inhabitants and excuse villagers from forced labor.”<sup>20</sup>

The majority of the Chinese who immigrated to the Philippines during the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries were males. The skewed immigrant sex ratio combined

---

<sup>17</sup> Edgar Wickberg, *The Chinese Mestizo in Philippine History*, (Manila, Philippines: Kaisa Para Sa Kaunlaran, Inc., 2001), 4-9.

<sup>18</sup> Brown and Ganguly, *Government and Ethnic Relations*, 327.

<sup>19</sup> Wickberg, “The Chinese Mestizo in Philippine History,” 64.

<sup>20</sup> Rolando E. Villacorte, *Baliwag!: Then and Now*, (Caloocan City, Philippines: Philippine Graphic Arts, 1970), 6.

with a Spanish colonial policy that resulted in the forced removal of many Chinese resulted in their being insufficient Chinese females in the Philippines during that era. This necessitated that Chinese immigrant men marry Indio women.<sup>21</sup> Such resulting families initially maintained cultural ties to both their Chinese and Filipino heritage, although they tended to assimilate more with the Filipinos after subsequent generations. Legally, they became recognized as a fourth class in the Spanish's racial hierarchy system: that of mestizos. The mestizos enjoyed enhanced rights that their indigenous Filipino relatives did not. They were also allowed to "participate with the Indios" in positions "in local government."<sup>22</sup> These were benefits that were similar to those enjoyed by Spanish mestizos (who were typically the offspring of Spanish men and Filipino women).<sup>23</sup> This, combined with the social prominence of many Chinese and Chinese mestizos (due to the economic and political positions the Spanish had allowed them and because many Chinese immigrants came to the Philippines as merchants, or were at least perceived as doing so by the Spanish)<sup>24</sup> contributed to the fact that ethnic Chinese frequently married into upper-echelon indigenous Filipino families. Indio elites benefitted from marriages with the ethnic Chinese by having children that were in a higher-level racial classification than themselves and because their Chinese or Chinese mestizo spouses were often perceived as wealthy. The ethnic Chinese benefitted because they gained local connections and recognition that the established local

---

<sup>21</sup> Jacques Amyot, *The Manila Chinese: Familism in the Philippine Environment*, (Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Institute of Philippine Culture, 1973), 127-128.; Wickberg, "The Chinese Mestizo in Philippine History," 68.

<sup>22</sup> Wickberg, "The Chinese Mestizo in Philippine History," 65.

<sup>23</sup> Marcelo Tangco, *The Christian Peoples of the Philippines*, (Quezon City, Philippines: University of the Philippines Press, 1951), 93.

<sup>24</sup> Wickberg, "The Chinese Mestizo in Philippine History," 67-68.



families had built up over time. The result was that many elite Filipino families had both Chinese and indigenous Filipino ancestry.<sup>25</sup> The Nepomucenos were such a family, tracing their connections to the Villasenors, from whom all but the first generation of Nepomucenos descended, who in turn, were children of male Chinese traders during the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

In addition to the Chinese mestizos, the Spanish priests wielded significant political power in the areas outside Manila.<sup>26</sup> Since the Spanish priests were far less numerically significant than the Chinese mestizos, the clergy relied heavily on the Chinese mestizos to act as administrators in many parts of the country.<sup>27</sup> Under the Spanish colonial regime, church and state were fused together into a singular concept which the priests controlled.<sup>28</sup> In other words, during the Spanish period the concept of separate “civil and religious power” did not exist, so that “the Church and the State were virtually one and the same.”<sup>29</sup> Despite the strict rulings of Catholicism, clerical sexual relations were common in the Philippines during the Spanish colonial period. In fact, they occurred so frequently that there was not a stigma associated with them in the same sense that existed elsewhere.<sup>30</sup> Many Spanish priests outside Manila maintained long-term relationships with Filipino women. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, outside influences

---

<sup>25</sup> Wickberg, *The Chinese Mestizo in Philippine History*, 5-7.

<sup>26</sup> Stephen M. Cherry, *Faith, Family, and Filipino American Community Life*, (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2014), 25.; Leandro Heriberto Fernandez, *A Brief History of the Philippines*, (Boston, Massachusetts: Ginn and Company, 1919), 162-164.; John A. Larkin, *The Pampangans: Colonial Society in a Philippine Province*, (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1972), 87-89.

<sup>27</sup> Tucker, *The Encyclopedia of the Spanish –American and Philippine-American Wars*, 487.; Larkin, *The Pampangans*, 90

<sup>28</sup> Tucker, *The Encyclopedia of the Spanish –American and Philippine-American Wars*, 490.

<sup>29</sup> Villacorte, *Baliwag!*, 14.

<sup>30</sup> Raquel Reyes, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, 117.

(such as being educated in Europe) caused many elites of the *ilustrado* class to disapprove of sexual unions involving priests and local women.<sup>31</sup> The Nepomucenos trace their priestly lineage to Spanish priest Nicolas Guillermo Masnou who served for 20 years as the only Spanish cleric in Angeles, then the largest town in Pampanga, and Patricia Mercado, a local elite woman. Their long relationship resulted in six children. The prestigious nature of the positions held by the participants themselves and descendants of that union indicates that relationships with priests can bring about comparatively favorable social status in Pampanga.

### **The American Period and the Second World War**

During the 1890s, Filipinos revolted against the Spanish and were on the brink of successfully ousting the latter, when the United States invaded, destroyed the fledgling Philippine Republic, and ruled as a colonial power until 1941. Despite American suppression of some of their representatives (who supported the nationalist revolution) the local elites managed to retain power under this new colonial regime by appealing to the cultural mores of the new administration.<sup>32</sup> They were able to use the Americans' political and economic system to their advantage when it came to advancing their cause through elections and business transactions.<sup>33</sup> The Nepomucenos had members in the Malolos Congress (the first and popular institution of the Philippine Republic), and

---

<sup>31</sup> Raquel Reyes, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, 121.

<sup>32</sup> Several Nepomucenos served in leadership roles during both the insurrection against the Spanish and the Philippine-American War.

<sup>33</sup> Julian Go, *American Empire and the Politics of Meaning: Elite Political Cultures in the Philippines and Puerto Rico during U.S. Colonialism*, (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2008), 166-169.

several Nepomucenos and members of allied lines also became politically and economically significant in Central Luzon, particularly in Pampanga.

The occupation of the Philippines by the United States led to important changes in colonial social and political life. Perhaps the most significant of these was the separation of church and state as colonial policy. This caused a dramatic decline in the power of the Spanish priests and eventually led to the United States government acquiring most of the land that had been owned by the Catholic Church in a deal brokered by the Vatican.<sup>34</sup> Ultimately, this meant that most of the Spanish priests left the Philippines shortly after the Americans took control of the country.<sup>35</sup> That said, despite the waning of Spanish influence, the Church remained strong.

The United States actively promoted its concept of democracy, including the creation of a national assembly in the Philippines and similar positions at the local level. The higher offices, however, remained under American control until 1930 when the Filipinos were given near-control of the colony with the creation of the Commonwealth Republic of the Philippines. By 1907, Filipinos were allowed to elect officials to the national assembly, and additional voting rights were gradually established thereafter.<sup>36</sup> The Philippine economy improved substantially under the American administration, with the income earned through foreign trade increasing nearly tenfold within the first 20

---

<sup>34</sup>Michael J. Connolly, *Church Lands and Peasant Unrest in the Philippines: Agrarian Conflict in 20th-Century Luzon*, (Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1992), 2-4.

<sup>35</sup> Ralph J. Mailliard, "An Investigation of the Philippine Friar Land Case and Related Church Problems," (PhD diss. Loyola University, 1942), 210, 215.

<sup>36</sup> Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States and the Philippines*, (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 31.

years.<sup>37</sup> Standards of living also improved, such that the population was much healthier, on average, than it had been during the Spanish colonial period, and people tended to live longer.<sup>38</sup> There were attempts by Filipino politicians to use the American political system to achieve either greater autonomy or outright independence.<sup>39</sup> These happened periodically, but they were not successful until the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934, which granted the Philippines independence following another ten years of American rule. The creation of the Commonwealth of the Philippines in 1935 granted the Philippines considerably more autonomy than had previously been the case and allowed Filipinos to have their own locally elected high officials.<sup>40</sup> This was the status when the Japanese invaded in World War II.<sup>41</sup>

The ancestral and allied lines of the Nepomuceno family held political power in Angeles City during the late Spanish period. Their power continued during the war for independence against Spain (and later versus the United States) as well as during the American colonial period. Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno served as “presidente municipal” (which was a newer term for *gobernadorcillo* and was changed to “mayor” after the Americans took power) of Angeles during the 1880s and 1890s. His older brother, Ysabelo, served as justice of the peace of Angeles during the same period.

---

<sup>37</sup> Jose S. Reyes, *Legislative History of America's Economic Policy Toward the Philippines*, (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1923), 192.

<sup>38</sup> Warwick Anderson, “Immunization and Hygiene in the Colonial Philippines,” *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, vol 62, issue, (January 2007): 1, 6-8, <http://jhmas.oxfordjournals.org.eres.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/content/62/1/1> (accessed August 16, 2016).

<sup>39</sup> Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 385-387.

<sup>40</sup> Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 392.

<sup>41</sup> Marconi M. Dioso, *The Times when Men must Die: The Story of the Destruction of the Philippine Army during the Early Months of World War II in the Pacific, December 1941-May 1942*, (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: Dorrance Publishing, 2010), 1-2.

Jose Santos was *gobernadorcillo* of Porac in the 1880s. During the Philippine-American War, Macimino Hizon and Serviliano Aquino served the Filipino cause as generals. Pablo Nepomuceno was vice-mayor of Lucban during the same conflict until his assassination in 1900. In the first decade of American rule, Jose Pedro Henson and Esteban Gomez both served as mayors of Angeles City. Esteban's son, Demetrio, was mayor a few years later, beginning in 1913. Overall, the Nepomuceno family adjusted well through the changes brought about by the American occupation. They founded several businesses, such as an electric company and an ice plant. They maintained the political power that they had first achieved during the Spanish colonial period throughout this era, but this political influence was continued through success in democratic elections, rather than through appointment by the colonial administrators.

During World War II, Filipinos who collaborated with the Japanese became targets of the Filipino guerilla movements.<sup>42</sup> A mayor of Angeles City, who was a close relative of the Nepomucenos, was assassinated by Filipino guerillas because they thought he was aligned with the Japanese. He was replaced by another Nepomuceno relative who actually was associated with the Japanese. Members of the Henson family (who were genealogically closely interconnected with the Nepomucenos) and the Abad Santos family (who were related to the Gomez family by marriage) served in the guerilla movement during the Second World War.

---

<sup>42</sup> Norman Owen, ed. *The Emergence of Modern Southeast Asia: A New History*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005), 290.

## Independence

When the Philippines was granted independence by the United States, the new republic remained heavily reliant on the American economy.<sup>43</sup> The United States was granted the right to keep military bases in the Philippines, the most prominent of which was the Clark Air Force Base near Angeles City, Pampanga.<sup>44</sup> The Nepomucenos remained in power after the end of American political colonialism in their country. The economic power of the Nepomuceno family continued to expand during this time, and they retained political control of Angeles City. The Nepomucenos also built a large subdivision and a mall on farmland that had been owned by their family for many years. The construction of these projects and the selling of the farmland at many times more money than what it would have otherwise been worth (had it been sold as farmland) greatly contributed to an increase in the Nepomucenos' wealth and their ability to remain in power in Pampanga.

In the early post-war period, the Hukbalahap, a communist-led peasant movement based in provinces north of Manila, waged a guerilla war against the government of the Philippines but were defeated by 1954. Members of the Henson family (allied line of the Nepomucenos) joined the Hukbalahap and one of them was killed in battle in 1953. Following the resolution of the conflict, the country enjoyed

---

<sup>43</sup> Owen, *The Emergence of Modern Southeast Asia*, 291-292.

<sup>44</sup> Owen, *The Emergence of Modern Southeast Asia*, 292.

relative peace and prosperity, albeit heavily dependent on the American economy, until Ferdinand Marcos was elected president of the Philippines in 1965.<sup>45</sup>

Marcos was elected to a first term, but his popularity declined because of the administration's widespread corruption. Marcos and his supporters took the plunder of state resources to such an extreme that public opinion swung permanently and dramatically against him, especially after his "re-election" in 1969.<sup>46</sup> Following his election to his second term in office, serious domestic problems became apparent, including resurgent communist guerillas and economic recession.<sup>47</sup> In 1972, Marcos declared martial law to perpetuate himself in power.<sup>48</sup> Martial law did away with freedom of expression, curtailed journalism, and imprisoned those opposed to the new order.<sup>49</sup> The Nepomuceno family was able to retain power and even managed to expand their political authority during the Marcos regime's time in office, such that two members of the Nepomuceno family became governors of Pampanga during the 1970s. This may be the result of their genealogical ties with people closely associated with the Marcos family, like the president's wife, Imelda Romualdez's jeweler, Fe Lague Sarmiento.<sup>50</sup> Renato Tayag "practiced law in partnership with Ferdinand E. Marcos" from 1939-41.<sup>51</sup>

---

<sup>45</sup> D.R. SarDesai, *Southeast Asia: Past and Present*, (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2013), 187-188.; Encyclopedia Britannica, s.v. "Hukbalahap Rebellion: Filipino History," <http://www.britannica.com/event/Hukbalahap-Rebellion> (accessed August 16, 2016).

<sup>46</sup> Sterling Seagrave, *The Marcos Dynasty*, (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1988), 217-219. Marcos was accused of using government funds to support his re-election.

<sup>47</sup> Gretchen Casper, "From Confrontation to Conciliation: The Philippine Path toward Democratic Consolidation," in *Pathways to Democracy: The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions*, ed. James F. Hollifield and Calvin Jillson, (New York: Routledge, 2000), 150.

<sup>48</sup> Seagrave, *The Marcos Dynasty*, 219.; Albert F. Celoz, *Ferdinand Marcos and the Philippines: The Political Economy of Authoritarianism*, (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1997), 56, 130.

<sup>49</sup> Casper, "From Confrontation to Conciliation," 150.

<sup>50</sup> Erlinda Enriquez Panlilio, *Belonging: Stories of Relationships*, (Pasig City, Philippines: Anvil Publishing, 2008), ix.

<sup>51</sup> Renato D. Tayag, *The Angeles Story*, (Manila: The Benipayo Press, 1956), 56.

Tayag was a first cousin once removed of Juan de Dios Nepomuceno and he certainly knew Juan and his family because he lived near them and considered them his neighbors.<sup>52</sup> The family also was able to keep its favorable association with President Marcos himself, as evidenced by Marcos giving Juan de Dios Nepomuceno's descendants "The Presidential Award of Merit" for "personifying the best aspects of Filipino family traditions" in 1969.<sup>53</sup>

Marcos was overthrown in a peaceful uprising in 1986 and constitutional democracy was restored in the Philippines under the new president, Corazon Cojuangco.<sup>54</sup> In 1991-1992, following the eruption of volcano Mt. Pinatubo in Pampanga (which was the world's second largest volcanic eruption in the 20<sup>th</sup> century) and after the Philippine senate voted not to extend the bases agreement, the United States withdrew.<sup>55</sup> While the eruption of the long-dormant volcano helped in the closing of the Clark Air Force base in Pampanga, it also killed approximately 100 people and rendered 1.2 million homeless.<sup>56</sup> The base was subsequently converted into the Clark Development Corporation and became a significant source of revenue and tourism for Angeles City.<sup>57</sup> Despite the general hardships faced by the people of Angeles City, the

---

<sup>52</sup> Renato D. Tayag, *The Sinners of Angeles*, viii, 62.

<sup>53</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 107, 344-345.

<sup>54</sup> Joseph Chinyong Liow, *Dictionary of the Modern Politics of Southeast Asia*, (New York: Routledge, 2015), 79, 151. "Cory" was the widow of Benigno "Ninoy" Aquino, who was a high profile opposition leader versus Marcos and had been assassinated in 1983.

<sup>55</sup> Thomas C. Utts, *GI Joe Doesn't Live Here Anymore: A History of Clark Air Base, America's Mighty Air Force Bastion in the Philippines*, (Baltimore: PublishAmerica LLLP, 2006), 15; Gerald R. Anderson, *Subic Bay: From Magellan to Pinatubo: The History of the U.S. Naval Station, Subic Bay*, (Dagupan City, Philippines: Lazer, 2006), 170, 172, 181.

<sup>56</sup> David Joel Steinberg, *The Philippines: A Singular and a Plural Place*, (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2000), 12.; Benjamin Reilly, *Disaster and Human History: Case Studies in Nature, Society, and Catastrophe*, (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Co., 2009), 69.

<sup>57</sup> Reilly, *Disaster and Human History*, 70.



Nepomuceno family's power was not significantly affected, nor was their economic importance due to their leadership roles in several regionally important companies, such as the Angeles Electric Corporation and the Teresa Waterworks.

Throughout the 1990s, the conditions in the areas affected by the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo improved and the region became more economically viable.<sup>58</sup> This, too, was financially beneficial for the Nepomucenos as the family flourished both politically and economically, with several members holding key positions in local government and regionally important companies. The Nepomucenos still held these positions of power in 2004, when *A Cofradia of Two* was published, and thereafter up until 2016 when this thesis was written.

### **Nepomuceno Origins and Rise to Power (18<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> centuries)**

The earliest documented members of the Nepomuceno family held positions of power and achieved social prominence in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The Nepomuceno male line was surnamed de la Cruz until Pasqual Nepomuceno (1790-1838) took the Nepomuceno name.<sup>59</sup> Pasqual was born in Manila in 1790 to Estevan de la Cruz and Leonarda Franzisca Justa Llamas, both originally from Pagsanjan, Laguna.<sup>60</sup> Pasqual's socio-economic background is not known, but he was an "Indio." He originally intended to become a priest and attended school in pursuit of that goal, but ultimately switched career tracks and became a lawyer instead. Pasqual practiced law

---

<sup>58</sup> Utts, *GI Joe Doesn't Live Here Anymore*, 345-347.

<sup>59</sup> Marc Nepomuceno, "The Nepomucenos of Pampanga," <http://marcnepo.blogspot.com/2013/04/the-nepomucenos-of-pampanga.html> (accessed April 12, 2014).

<sup>60</sup> Marc Nepomuceno, "The Nepomucenos of Pampanga."

in a period where there were very few attorneys in the Philippines who were not Spanish or otherwise closely affiliated with the colonial regime. He went on to become a “native lawyer of the Supreme Court” of the Spanish Philippines, which was a very significant accomplishment for an Indio at that time.<sup>61</sup>

In about 1815, when he was 25 years old, Pasqual married Salvadora Villasenor (1798-1845).<sup>62</sup> Salvadora Villasenor was born in 1798 Lucban (in what is now Quezon province), where her father, Antonio Serapion Villasenor, served two terms as *gobernadorcillo* in the 1820s. Four of Salvadora’s brothers also held socially prominent positions. Silvino and Juan followed in their father’s footsteps and became *gobernadorcillos* of Lucban in the 1830s and the 1840s, respectively.<sup>63</sup> The other two brothers, Silvestre (1796-1843) and Agustin (1800-1856) turned to the priesthood, with Agustin promoted to bishop (coadjutor) of the town of Atimonan (also in modern Quezon province).<sup>64</sup> The Villasenors were Chinese mestizos. Antonio’s grandfather, Jeronimo Venco, was a Chinese trader who was born in Fujian, China. Jeronimo had two sons with an indigenous Filipino woman, Juana Dinio of Pagsanjan, Laguna. They stayed in China until around 1740 when their two sons immigrated to their mother’s homeland. One of these sons, Cristobal, changed his surname to Villasenor. No information about their wives or partners is known, but Cristobal had five children, one of whom was

---

<sup>61</sup> Marco D. Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City and their Relatives: The Ascendants and Descendants of Pio Rafael Nepomuceno and Maria Agustina Henson*, (Angeles City, Philippines: MEPA Press, 1987), 1.

<sup>62</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 87-88.; Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 16, 71.

<sup>63</sup> Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 3, 16.; Marc Nepomuceno, “The Nepomucenos of Pampanga.”

<sup>64</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 88; Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 3.

Antonio, the *gobernadorcillo* of Lucban. Antonio married a woman of unknown ancestry, Rosa de los Angeles.

Pasqual Nepomuceno and Salvadora Villasenor had three children, two of whom have documented and noteworthy achievements. They lived in Quiotan, Santa Cruz, Extramuros de Manila, which is where their sons, Pio Rafael (1817-1858) and Pedro (1819-1865) were born.<sup>65</sup> Pio was the first generation of the Nepomuceno male line to achieve social prominence within Pampanga itself. He served a term as *gobernadorcillo* of Angeles City, beginning in 1852.<sup>66</sup> At age 30, Pio Rafael Nepomuceno married Maria Agustina Henson (1828-1905) in the Angeles Parish Church.<sup>67</sup> In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Pio Rafael's descendants are associated with Pampanga's Holy Angel University. Pedro Gonzalez Nepomuceno created and ran a workhouse in Lucban during the 1850s.<sup>68</sup> A workhouse was a type of institution that was popular in Europe between the 17<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. They were intended as a means to solve poverty-related problems by providing a place where the destitute poor could live. In that sense, workhouses were similar to the homeless shelters of the present day. The key difference was that the people who lived there were required to work (usually in menial labor) in order to earn the right of residence. The living and labor conditions in workhouses tended to be intentionally squalid to "deter those capable of working from claiming assistance."

---

<sup>65</sup> Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 1.; Marc Nepomuceno, "The Nepomucenos of Pampanga."

<sup>66</sup> Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 7.; Peter Kreuzer, "The Philippines Mafia Style Domination in an Oligarchic Polity," *IPSA's XXIIInd World Congress of Political Science, Reshaping Power, Shifting Boundaries*. (2012), 7[http://paperroom.ipsa.org/papers/paper\\_11398.pdf](http://paperroom.ipsa.org/papers/paper_11398.pdf) (accessed August 16, 2016).

<sup>67</sup> Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 7.; Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 150.; Marc Nepomuceno, "The Nepomucenos of Pampanga."

<sup>68</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 105.

Spain and the United Kingdom are two prominent examples of countries that used workhouses during the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>69</sup> When Pedro ran his workhouse in Lucban, it gave him a source of cheap, renewable labor. Due to the cultural attitudes of the time, he was not seen as taking advantage of poor people. Instead, he appeared to be doing good deeds by helping employ and house the poor. Pablo (1843-1900), the other son of Pio Rafael and Maria Agustina, served as vice-mayor of Lucban during the Philippine-American War from 1898 until his death when he was “assasinated [sic] by persons unknown.”<sup>70</sup>

Maria Agustina Henson, the wife of Pio Rafael Nepomuceno, was born in Culiati, San Fernando, Pampanga, to Dr. Mariano Henson (1798-1848) and Juana Ildefonsa de Miranda (1803-1845).<sup>71</sup> Mariano was a “Chinese mestizo,” but Juana’s race is unclear.<sup>72</sup> Both were born in San Fernando, Pampanga. Mariano earned a doctorate from the University of Santo Tomas in 1824 and became the “first Filipino doctor of laws” as well as the “second Filipino lay doctor.”<sup>73</sup> Mariano’s parents were Severino Henson (?-1833), and Placida Paras (1777-1840). They were both residents of San Fernando, Pampanga and both died there. Placida was also born in that area.<sup>74</sup> They were prominent landowners who gave land to Angeles City shortly after it was founded,

---

<sup>69</sup> Charlotte Hodgman, “The Rise and Fall of the Workhouse,” *BBC News*, December 20, 2010, <http://www.historyextra.com/workhouse> (accessed August 16, 2016).; *The Church of England Monthly Review*, “Workhouses and Women’s Work,” (1858), 18.

<sup>70</sup> Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 13.

<sup>71</sup> Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 3-4.; Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 97, 105.; Marc Nepomuceno, “The Nepomucenos of Pampanga.”

<sup>72</sup> Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 16.

<sup>73</sup> Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 4, 16.; Marc Nepomuceno, “Naval,” *Pampanga Eagle*, October 09, 1983, <http://marcnepo.blogspot.com/2012/10/naval.html> (accessed April 10, 2014).

<sup>74</sup> Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 16.; Marc Nepomuceno, “The Nepomucenos of Pampanga.”

which was used “for the construction of the first Catholic Church, a convent, and a primary school.”<sup>75</sup> Mariano had three sisters, two of whom (Maria Arcadia and Josefa) had sons, Panteleon del Rosario and Victor Dizon (1824-1883), who became priests.<sup>76</sup> Additionally, Maria Arcadia’s grandson, Agapito del Rosario, became mayor of Angeles City in 1940.<sup>77</sup> Maria Agustina’s mother, Juana Ildefonsa, was one of six children of the couple credited with the founding of Angeles City, Pampanga: Angel Panteleon de Miranda (1765-1835) and Rosalia de Jesus (1765-1840). Angel was a captain in the Spanish military’s “Hussars squadron” who became *gobernadorcillo* of San Fernando, Pampanga in 1795, at the age of 30. The following year, he had space in the barrio of Culiati (within San Fernando) cleared to make way for the area’s settlement. On December 08, 1829, Culiati formally became independent from San Fernando and then became known as Angeles. Angel had a role in the city’s naming, although it was supposedly named after angels and not after him.<sup>78</sup> He was also responsible for “introducing the first granite sugar mill to the area,” “erecting the first distillery,” and indirectly for helping bring the “first primary schools” to Culiati in 1822.<sup>79</sup> Angel’s wife, Rosalia, was credited with having “opened...the first public dispensary on the northwest corner of the intersection of Sapang Balen Creek and the road to Porac” in 1811.<sup>80</sup> Angel and Rosalia’s son, Ciriaco de Miranda (?-1859) followed in his father’s footsteps

---

<sup>75</sup> Angeles City, “City History,” [http://www.angelescity.gov.ph/city/city\\_history](http://www.angelescity.gov.ph/city/city_history) (accessed August 16, 2016).

<sup>76</sup> Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 124.

<sup>77</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 84.

<sup>78</sup> Tayag, *The Sinners of Angeles*, 3-4.

<sup>79</sup> Larkin, *The Pampangans*, 93.

<sup>80</sup> Mariano A. Henson, *A Brief History of the Town of Angeles* 1-3.; Tayag, *The Angeles Story*, 7.

by serving as *gobernadorcillo* of Angeles City. Ciriaco began his term as *gobernadorcillo* in 1830, shortly after the town's founding.<sup>81</sup>

One of Maria Agustina Henson's nephews, Jose Pedro "Pepe" Henson (1871-1947), served one term as a mayor of Angeles from 1908-1910, and was a "bid landowner" with many tenant farmers working his land in the rural area near the city. He also "owned a pharmacy" in "the Escolta" "business district of Manila."<sup>82</sup> Jose Pedro's eldest son, Mariano Angel Henson (1897-1975), became the "town historian" of Angeles and wrote books about the city's history as well as about Pampanga.<sup>83</sup> Another son, Celestino Leon Henson (1901-1982), became a medical doctor, while a daughter, Maria Luisa Henson (1904-?), joined a convent as a nun.<sup>84</sup> Although she was not recognized as significant until much later, Jose Pedro's youngest child, Maria Rosa Henson (1927-1997), achieved international recognition and relative infamy when in 1992 she became the "first Filipina to tell the world of her story as a comfort woman for the Imperial Japanese Army during World War II." Maria Rosa wrote an autobiography which included detailed descriptions of her experiences during World War II as a fighter with the Hukbalahap guerilla movement and, after her capture, as a sex slave of the Japanese. She eventually received a settlement of \$19,000 from the Japanese

---

<sup>81</sup> Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 7,9,13.; Marc Nepomuceno, "The Nepomucenos of Pampanga."

<sup>82</sup> Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 118.; Marc Nepomuceno, "Naval': Angeles City Museum, "Heritage Sites," <http://museoningangeles.blogspot.com/> (accessed April 10, 2014).; Alejandro Camiling, ed., "Biographies of Famous Kapampangan," <http://www.andropampanga.com/bio/escaler.htm> (accessed April 17, 2014).; Asian Women's Fund, "Testimonies of the Victims," <http://www.awf.or.jp/e3/oralhistory-00.html> (accessed April 10, 2014).; Tayag, *The Sinners of Angeles*, 26.

<sup>83</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 72.; Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 119.

<sup>84</sup> Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 121.

government for this mistreatment.<sup>85</sup> Maria Rosa's husband, Domingo Averion, also fought for the Hukbalahap during the Second World War, but unlike his wife, Domingo continued in that capacity after the Japanese surrendered. Domingo was killed in action while fighting for the Hukbalahap in opposition to the Philippine government in 1953.<sup>86</sup>

In addition to the Nepomuceno and Henson political dynasties, Mariano Henson and Juana Idefonsa de Miranda were also the ancestors of the oligarchic Aquino family through their daughter, Juana Petrona Henson (1834-1860).<sup>87</sup> Juana's grandson, Serviliano "Mianong" Aquino, served as a general in the revolutionary army of Emilio Aguinaldo and became a member of the Malolos Congress during the same period.<sup>88</sup> Two of Serviliano's sons, Benigno Simeon Aquino, I (1894-1947), and Hermينو Sanchez Aquino (1949-Present), became congressmen, both representing Tarlac. Both also held cabinet positions in the Philippine government as secretary of agriculture and commerce and deputy executive secretary and head of the Ministry of Human Settlements, respectively.<sup>89</sup> Benigno's son and namesake Benigno Simeon "Ninoy" Aquino was a famous rival of President Marcos and was assassinated at the Manila

---

<sup>85</sup> Maria Rosa Henson, *Comfort Woman: A Filipina's Story of Prostitution and Slavery under the Japanese Military*, (Lanham: Roman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999), 24-26; Asian Women's Fund, "Testimonies of the Victims."; Seth Mydans, "Maria Rosa Henson, 69, Dies; Victim of Japanese Brothels," *The New York Times*, August 27, 1997, <http://www.nytimes.com/1997/08/27/world/maria-rosa-henson-69-dies-victim-of-japanese-brothels.html> (accessed April 10, 2014).

<sup>86</sup> Maria Rosa Henson, *Comfort Woman*, 75.; Familysearch.org, "Philippines, Manila, Civil Registration, 1899-1984," <https://familysearch.org/ark:61903/1:1:QK1C-N9GZ> (accessed November 24, 2016).

<sup>87</sup> Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 114.

<sup>88</sup> Todd Lucero Sales, "Philippine Politics and Genealogy," *Manila Bulletin & Cebu Daily News*, June 2008, <http://www.asiafinest.com/forum/lofiversion/index.php/t326445.html> (accessed July 24, 2014).

<sup>89</sup> Sales, "Philippine Politics and Genealogy."; Benedict Anderson, *The Spectre of Comparisons: Nationalism, Southeast Asia and the World*, (London: New Left Books, 1998), 193.; James Putzel, *A Captive Land: The Politics of Agrarian Reform in the Philippines*, (Catholic Institute for International Relations, 1992) 213.; Alfred W. McCoy, *An Anarchy of Families: State and Family in the Philippines*, (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, 1993), 124.

airport in 1983. His wife, Corazon Sumulong Cojuangco (1933-2009), and son, Benigno Simeon Aquino, III (1960-Present), both served terms as president of the Philippines.<sup>90</sup> Mariano's sister, Josefa Henson, was an ancestor of first lady Imelda Romualdez's sister-in-law, Maria Julieta Arlette Gomez (1935-Present).<sup>91</sup>

Pio Rafael Nepomuceno and Maria Agustina Henson had six children, two of whom entered politics. Their eldest son, Ysabelo Nepomuceno (1849-1897), became justice of the peace of Angeles in 1886. Another son, Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno (1852-1923), held several prominent political offices over the course of his career.<sup>92</sup> These included *gobernadorcillo* of Angeles, *presidente municipal* of Angeles, delegate to the Tarlac Congress, *escribano* (provincial secretary) to the politico-military governor of Tarlac, and delegate from Pampanga to the Malolos Congress.<sup>93</sup> Additionally, a street near the city hall in Angeles was named in his honor.<sup>94</sup> Juan Gualberto was the ancestor of the Nepomuceno family that was responsible for publishing *A Cofradia of Two* in 2004 and *Destiny and Destination* in 2008.

Pio Rafael and Maria Agustina had four daughters. While none of these women became historically significant in her own right, two of them either had children or in-laws who did. Juliana Nepomuceno (1851-1895) had a son, Clemente N. "Meni" Dayrit (1883-1944), who served three non-consecutive terms as mayor of Angeles City. In the

---

<sup>90</sup> Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 115; David C. Kang, *Crony Capitalism: Corruption and Development in South Korea and the Philippines*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 155; Sales, "Philippine Politics and Genealogy"; McCoy, *An Anarchy of Families*, xvii.; Liow, *Dictionary of the Modern Politics of Southeast Asia*, 35.

<sup>91</sup> Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 134.

<sup>92</sup> Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 23.

<sup>93</sup> Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 45.; Marc Nepomuceno, "The Nepomucenos of Pampanga."

<sup>94</sup> Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 45.



1940 election, Clemente ran for mayor with running mate Teresa Gomez, who co-founded Holy Angel University, was the granddaughter of Spanish priest Guillermo Masnou, and was an ancestor of the Nepomucenos who were responsible for *A Cofradia of Two*. Clemente and Teresa lost to Agapito del Rosario, who was also related to the Nepomucenos.<sup>95</sup> Agapito's grandmother, Maria Arcadia Henson, was Mariano's sister, making him the first cousin once removed of Maria Agustina Henson, who married Pio Rafael Nepomuceno in 1847.<sup>96</sup> Clemente was assassinated by Filipino guerillas on February 05, 1944 for his "perceived collaboration with the Japanese."<sup>97</sup>

Clemente married his first cousin, Susana Nepomuceno (1887-1940). Susana was a daughter of Ysabelo Nepomuceno (1849-1897) and Juana Paras (1862-1937). Clemente and Susana were the parents of Ponciano Jose Dayrit (1912-1977), who succeeded his father as mayor of Angeles in 1944, following Clemente's assassination.<sup>98</sup> Another of Pio Rafael and Maria Agustina's daughters, Maria Graciana Nepomuceno (1858-1896), married a Samuel Pineda (1855-1902) in 1886.<sup>99</sup> Samuel's brother, Braulio Pineda, was a priest who eventually became bishop of Angeles City.<sup>100</sup>

Renato Tayag was a nephew of Clemente Dayrit and grandson of Juliana Nepomuceno. He was significant for three reasons. He was a journalist and historian

---

<sup>95</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 84.

<sup>96</sup> Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 124, 141.

<sup>97</sup> Marc Nepomuceno, "The Nepomucenos of Pampanga."

<sup>98</sup> Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 39.; Marc Nepomuceno, "The Nepomucenos of Pampanga."

<sup>99</sup> Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 68-70.; Marc Nepomuceno, "The Nepomucenos of Pampanga."

<sup>100</sup> Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 68.

who influenced the people of Angeles through his writings. His early writings promoted the positive attributes of the Nepomuceno family, for example, by referring to Juan de Dios Nepomuceno as the “benefactor and spiritual leader of Angeles” and Manuel Abad Santos as a “loyal leader” and a “most outstanding personality.”<sup>101</sup> Renato Tayag and Juan de Dios Nepomuceno eventually had a falling out as a result of Juan building a power plant near Renato’s house which made loud noises late at night. After negotiations failed and the power plant remained in place, Renato retaliated by self-publishing a book which presented a scathing review of Juan’s business practices, philanthropy, religiosity, and political career.<sup>102</sup> It was very different from the earlier books Renato wrote that promoted the Nepomucenos, and is a rare example of negative publicity attached to the Nepomuceno family. Renato was also important because of the close positive relationship that he had with Ferdinand Marcos. This began before the Second World War when they were business partners who ran a law firm together.<sup>103</sup>

Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno was married three times. His wives were Josefa Ganzon (1859-1885), Aurea Paras (1865-1917), and Eusebia de Miranda (1862-?). Eusebia was a great-granddaughter of Angel Panteleon de Miranda and Rosalia de Jesus, who are credited with founding Angeles City in 1829. Eusebia married twice. Her first husband’s family represents a significant allied line to which the Nepomuceno family is connected through their relationship with Eusebia (and through the more

---

<sup>101</sup> Tayag, *The Angeles Story*, 12-13, 27.

<sup>102</sup> Tayag, *The Sinners of Angeles*, 64, 67, 6.

<sup>103</sup> Tayag, *The Angeles Story*, 55.

distant Escaler connection which is described later). Her first husband, Jose Maria Revelino, had an uncle (his mother's half-sister's husband), Joaquin Arnedo-Cruz (?-1897) who served as *gobernadorcillo* of Apalit, Pampanga. Joaquin Arnedo-Cruz and his wife Maria de la Paz Sioco (?-1897) had a son, Macario "Ariong" Arnedo-Cruz (1868-?), who was governor of Pampanga, beginning in 1904. Macario is historically significant for moving the provincial capital of Pampanga from Bacalor to San Fernando so that it would be closer to the railroad. His daughter, Rosario Lucia "Charing" Arnedo-Cruz (1903-1977), married into the politically prominent Gonzalez family of Apalit, which was descended in the male line from a Spanish priest, Fausto Ambrosio Lopez (1811-1866).<sup>104</sup> Jose Maria Revelino's mother's name was Francisca Sioco, and her sister, Florencia Sioco (1860-1925), married Fausto Lopez's son, Joaquin Gonzalez (1853-1900). Joaquin was a member of the Malolos Congress, as well as president of the Universidad Cientifico-Literaria de Filipinas.<sup>105</sup> Fausto Lopez's lineage is described in further detail in appendixes A and D.

Another of Francisca's sisters, Sabina Sioco (1858-1950), had a son, Jose Escaler (1885-1927), who held several prestigious positions in the business and philanthropic fields over the course of his career. Some of these included "director of the Germinal Cigar Factory, Cooperative Agricola and the Malayan Trading; director of

---

<sup>104</sup> Toto Gonzalez, "Remembrance of Things Gone Awry," <http://remembranceofthingsawry.wordpress.com/> (accessed April 19, 2014).; Franco, "Apalit Gonzales," <http://apalitdoblezetastories.wordpress.com/> (accessed April 17, 2014).; Familysearch.org, "Spain Baptisms, 1502-1940," <https://familysearch.org/search/collection/1500692> (accessed April 12, 2014).; Camiling, "Biographies of Famous Kapampangans."

<sup>105</sup> Franco, Apalit Gonzales."; Toto Gonzalez, "Remembrance of Things Gone Awry."; Cristina Evangelista Torres, *The Americanization of Manila, 1898-1921*, (Quezon City, Philippines: The University of the Philippines Press, 2010), 151.; Villacorte, *Baliwag!*. 6; Camiling, "Biographies of Famous Kapampangans."

the Manila Railroad Company,” member of the Board of Regents of the University of the Philippines, president of the Philippine Orphanage Association, “vice-President, president, and president-manager of the Pampanga Sugar Development Company (PASUDECO),” and “vice-President of the Philippine Oil Products.”<sup>106</sup> Jose’s son, Federico O. Escaler S.J. (1922-2015), was a prominent church official who served in the role of “bishop-prelate-emeritus” of Ipil, Zamboanga.<sup>107</sup> In addition to the indirect allied line connection through Eusebia de Miranda’s marriage to Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno, Federico was related to the Nepomucenos by blood through his mother, Aurea de Ocampo (1894-1986). Aurea was a great-grandniece of Nepomuceno ancestor, Juana Ildefonsa de Miranda (1803-1845), who married Dr. Mariano Henson.<sup>108</sup> Aurea’s parents were also prominent. Her father was a doctor and her mother was a first cousin of Macimino Hizon, who served as a general in the Philippine-American War.<sup>109</sup>

At least two of Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno’s children, as well as his descendants through his other offspring, held socially prominent positions. A son, Ricardo P. Nepomuceno (1894-1965), was elected to the municipal council of Angeles City in 1919 and served in that role until 1928, at which point he became mayor. In 1931, Ricardo changed positions again in order to become a senior member of the

---

<sup>106</sup>Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 205.; Camiling, “Biographies of Famous Kapampangans.”

<sup>107</sup> Camiling, “Biographies of Famous Kapampangans.”

<sup>108</sup> Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 108.; Marc Nepomuceno, “Naval.”

<sup>109</sup> Iohan Reyes, “Abad Santos Family Tree,” <http://www.geni.com/people/Jose-Santos/2899690>(accessed April 15, 2014); Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 205; Camiling, “Biographies of Famous Kapampangans.”

Pampanga Provincial Board, a position he held until 1934.<sup>110</sup> In 1918, Ricardo married Amanda Lourdes Henson (1895-1983). Amanda was a daughter of Angeles City's mayor, Jose Pedro Henson, sister of town historian Mariano Angel Henson, and half-sister of Maria Rosa Henson of comfort woman fame.<sup>111</sup> Ricardo and Amanda had a son, Armando Lorenzo Nepomuceno (1924-1994),<sup>112</sup> who managed the Angeles Electric Company and also worked as an author and historian.<sup>113</sup> One of the Nepomuceno family's chief genealogists and the author of the book *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City and their Relatives: The Ascendants and Descendants of Pio Rafael Nepomuceno and Maria Agustina Henson*, Marco Nepomuceno (1953-Present), is a son of Armando Lorenzo Nepomuceno.<sup>114</sup> Juan Gualberto's son, Mariano Nepomuceno (1890-1950), had a son, Francisco Jose Nepomuceno (1916-?), who served as governor of Pampanga for twelve years from 1960-1972.<sup>115</sup> Francisco was a career politician who also held several other prominent positions, such as member of the city council of Angeles from 1952-1955, congressman representing Pampanga's first district from 1958-1960, and mayor of Angeles from 1979-1987.<sup>116</sup> His wife, Juanita Lumalan (1914-?), succeeded Francisco as governor of Pampanga in 1972, a position that she held until 1976. She also served as congresswoman for Pampanga's first district from

---

<sup>110</sup> Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 20; Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 131.

<sup>111</sup> Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 20, 53, 154; Maria Rosa Henson, *Comfort Woman*, 12.

<sup>112</sup> James Alcasabas Espiritu, "Nepomuceno Family Tree," <https://www.geni.com/family-tree/index/6000000015605467767> (accessed July 04, 2016).

<sup>113</sup> Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 119; Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 46, 48, 122.

<sup>114</sup> Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 55.

<sup>115</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 194; Marc Nepomuceno, "The Nepomucenos of Pampanga; Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 20, 49.

<sup>116</sup> Vera Files, "Nepomuceno Political Dynasty of Angeles City, Pampanga," <http://crowdsourcing.verafiles.org/reports/view/152> (accessed March 29, 2015).

1961-1969 and again from 1984-1986.<sup>117</sup> Francisco and Juanita had two sons who followed in their footsteps to become politically and economically significant elites. These were Robin “Bongbing,” Nepomuceno (1946-Present), who served as vice-governor of Pampanga from 1984-1986 and as captain of Angeles City’s Cutcut *barangay* from 1997-2010, and his brother, Francisco “Blueboy” Nepomuceno (1951-Present), who served as vice-mayor of Angeles from 1995-1998 and as a congressman representing Pampanga’s first district from 2001-2007.<sup>118</sup> Robin’s wife, Cecilia Cuyugan, served as municipal councilor of Porac, Pampanga from 1992-1995, and succeeded her husband as captain of the Cutcut *barangay* within Angeles City in 2010.<sup>119</sup> Robin and Cecilia’s son, Bryan Matthew Nepomuceno, was a municipal councilor of Angeles City from 2010-2016. In May 2016, Bryan was elected as vice mayor of Angeles City.<sup>120</sup>

Juan de Dios Nepomuceno (1892-1973) was the second of Juan Gualberto’s sons to achieve social prominence. Juan de Dios and his wife Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez (1893-1970) were the two co-founders of Holy Angel University and the central focus of *A Cofradia of Two*.<sup>121</sup> Juan de Dios held many politically and economically

---

<sup>117</sup> Marc Nepomuceno, “The Nepomucenos of Pampanga”; Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 49; Max Sangil, letter to the editor, “The Nepomucenos and the Lazatins,” *Sun Star Pampanga*, January 29, 2013, <http://www.sunstar.com.ph/pampanga/opinion/2013/01/29/sangil-nepomucenos-and-lazatins-part-1-265497> (accessed April 13, 2014).

<sup>118</sup> Marc Nepomuceno, “The Nepomucenos of Pampanga”; Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 49-50; Files, “Nepomuceno Political Dynasty.”

<sup>119</sup> Files, “Nepomuceno Political Dynasty.”

<sup>120</sup> *Sun Star Pampanga*, “Angeleños elect Pamintuan as mayor for 5<sup>th</sup> time,” May 11, 2016, <http://www.sunstar.com.ph/pampanga/local-news/2016/05/11/angelenos-elect-pamintuan-mayor-5th-time-472991> (accessed August 24, 2016); Brynelle Dogwe, “Winners: Angeles City, Pampanga Local Elections 2016 Results,” <http://www.ivoteph.com/election-results/pam/winners-angeles-city-pampanga-local-elections-2016-results/> (accessed August 24, 2016).

<sup>121</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 16; Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 20, 50; Holy Angel University, “History,” [http://www.hau.edu.ph/about\\_hau/history.php](http://www.hau.edu.ph/about_hau/history.php) (accessed November 01,

significant roles throughout his career and substantially contributed to the direction and degree of control which the Nepomuceno family exercises over Angeles City and the surrounding area in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century. He began his career as a lawyer, but soon broadened his scope when he and his wife, Teresa, became small business owners after acquiring an ice plant, which was eventually renamed in Teresa's honor.<sup>122</sup> Juan de Dios and Teresa expanded their holdings to include an electrical company, which supplied Angeles and the surrounding area with its electricity. Ownership of these regionally important utility companies gave the Nepomucenos significant economic control over the region.

In 1933, Juan de Dios and Teresa also co-founded Holy Angel Academy (initially as a high school), which eventually evolved in both name and structure into Holy Angel University. Juan de Dios served as president of Holy Angel (then called a Catholic College) for many years and oversaw its transformation from obscurity into a regionally important institution.<sup>123</sup> In 1922, less than a year after purchasing the ice plant, Juan de Dios began his political career as mayor of Angeles City. He continued in that role until 1928, while simultaneously being involved in the management of his business concerns.<sup>124</sup> After finishing his term as mayor, Juan de Dios continued to serve

---

2014); De Sequera Family, "De Sequera Family Genealogy Project," [http://www.desequera.org/FamilyCards/PS02/PS02\\_179.HTML](http://www.desequera.org/FamilyCards/PS02/PS02_179.HTML) (accessed November 16, 2014); Tayag, *The Angeles Story*, 12.

<sup>122</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 27-29.

<sup>123</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 57, 68; Holy Angel University, "History."

<sup>124</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 82; Marc Nepomuceno, "The Nepomucenos of Pampanga."

Angeles politically as a municipal councilor, a position which he held until 1937. He was also the first Pampanga delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1934.<sup>125</sup>

Juan de Dios Nepomuceno married Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez (known simply as "Teresa") in 1919.<sup>126</sup> Teresa co-founded Holy Angel Academy and the Angeles Electric Company with her husband and together they managed those institutions as well as the ice plant, which they purchased in 1921.<sup>127</sup> Teresa successfully campaigned for women's suffrage in 1935 and was a candidate for vice-mayor of Angeles in 1940.<sup>128</sup> Her running mate was her husband's first cousin, Clemente N. Dayrit. Teresa and Clemente lost their election to another Nepomuceno relative, Agapito del Rosario.<sup>129</sup>

Teresa herself was born into a politically and economically important local family that had held significant positions in the area for many years. Her parents were Esteban "Teban" Gomez (1856-1907) and Josefa Pamintuan (1861-1941).<sup>130</sup> Esteban served a term as mayor of Angeles City, beginning in 1902.<sup>131</sup> Esteban was one of six children of a Spanish priest, Nicolas Guillermo Masnou (1824-1895), and a local "businesswoman," Patricia Mercado (1828-1900), who owned sugar mills.<sup>132</sup> Nicolas

---

<sup>125</sup> Marc Nepomuceno, "The Nepomucenos of Pampanga."

<sup>126</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 27.

<sup>127</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 43, 45, 59; Holy Angel University, "History."

<sup>128</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 131.

<sup>129</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 364.

<sup>130</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 27; Familysearch.org, "Philippines, Marriages, 1723-1957," <https://familysearch.org/search/collection/1500713> (accessed November 01, 2013); De Sequera Family, "De Sequera Family Genealogy Project."

<sup>131</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 94, 98-99; Mariano Henson, *A Brief History of the Town of Angeles*, 74; De Sequera Family, "De Sequera Family Genealogy Project."

<sup>132</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 95-99; Familysearch.org, "Spain, Baptisms, 1502-1940."; Angeles City Museum, "Heritage Sites."; Ninski, "Masnou," <http://board.ancestry.com/surnames/masnou/1/mb.ashx> (accessed November 16, 2014); De Sequera Family, "De Sequera Family Genealogy Project.";



Guillermo Masnou was born in Valladolid City, Valladolid, Spain on December 06, 1824, the son of Pedro Masnou and Ysabel Gomez (1796-?).<sup>133</sup> Nicolas joined the “Order of Augustine (O.S.A.)” as a priest, and in 1853, at the age of 28, he emigrated from Spain to the Philippines in order to take up missionary work there.<sup>134</sup> He initially began work as a parish priest at the Santo Tomas Church in Pampanga, a position which he held for two years.<sup>135</sup> In 1855, Nicolas moved to Angeles City, where he served as that community’s parish priest for the next 22 years.<sup>136</sup> Nicolas’s role as priest began on April 11, 1855 and his first known child, Esteban, was baptized in Angeles “on the same day as his birth” on August 03, 1856.<sup>137</sup> This indicates that Nicolas most likely would have met Esteban’s mother, Patricia Mercado, very shortly after arriving in Angeles, since she had their first child only 16 months after he moved there. It is also possible that they met during the two years that he served as parish priest of Santo Tomas, since that was where Patricia was born and Esteban’s tombstone lists his birth as 1854 in Santo Tomas instead of 1856 in Angeles, as noted in his baptismal record.<sup>138</sup> Regardless, as of 1856, Nicolas Guillermo Masnou and Patricia Mercado were in a relationship.<sup>139</sup> Esteban’s baptismal record indicates that his parents were “Nicolas

---

Ivan Anthony S. Henares, “Filipino Alcalde-Mayores in the Province of Pampanga,” in *Alaya: The Kapampangan Research Journal*, ed. Lino L. Dizon et al, (Angeles City, Philippines: The Juan D. Nepomuceno Center for Kapampangan Studies at Holy Angel University, 2005), 55; Carmelo Nepomuceno, *The Gomez Family of Angeles*, 9.

<sup>133</sup> Familysearch.org, “Spain, Baptisms, 1502-1940”; De Sequera Family, “De Sequera Family Genealogy Project.”; Familysearch.org, “Spain, Marriages, 1565-1950,” <https://familysearch.org/search/collection/1500693> (accessed April 12, 2014); Ninski, “Masnou.”; Carmelo Nepomuceno, *The Gomez Family of Angeles*, 1.

<sup>134</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 95.

<sup>135</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 96-97; Carmelo Nepomuceno, *The Gomez Family of Angeles*, 1.

<sup>136</sup> Carmelo Nepomuceno, 2; Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 97; Mariano Henson, *A Brief History of the Town of Angeles*, 77; Angeles City Museum, “Heritage Sites.”

<sup>137</sup> Carmelo Nepomuceno, *The Gomez Family of Angeles*, 13.

<sup>138</sup> Carmelo Nepomuceno, *The Gomez Family of Angeles*, 13.

<sup>139</sup> Carmelo Nepomuceno, *The Gomez Family of Angeles*, 9, 13.

Gomez” and “Patricia Mercado,” but his parents’ marital status is not indicated.<sup>140</sup> As established earlier in the introduction, according to Carmelo Nepomuceno in *The Gomez Family of Angeles*, Nicolas Gomez was an alias used by Nicolas Guillermo Masnou on official records. He chose “Gomez” as a surname because it belonged to his mother.<sup>141</sup>

The second child born to Nicolas and Patricia was Pedro Agustin Gomez (1857-?).<sup>142</sup> Unlike his older brother, Esteban, Pedro was listed as “the legitimate son of the legitimate marriage” of his parents on his baptismal record.<sup>143</sup> The baptismal record of Maria Teodora Gomez (1867-1954), a later child of Nicolas and Patricia, refers to her as a “legitimate daughter.”<sup>144</sup> These baptismal records indicate that despite being a priest, Nicolas did marry Patricia, at least on paper.

The relationship between Nicolas and Patricia is described in a positive way in both *A Cofradia of Two* and *Destiny and Destination*. In *A Cofradia of Two*, Nicolas’s status as a priest is stated in a matter-of-fact way in a section devoted to promoting the religiosity of his granddaughter, Teresa, whereas Nicolas’s priestly status and the fact that he was an ancestor of the Nepomucenos is promoted in *Destiny and Destination* and *The Gomez Family of Angeles*. The relationship between Nicolas and Patricia and their status as the ancestors of the Nepomucenos is also mentioned in Renato Tayag’s book *The Sinners of Angeles*, the only one that I could find that contained a negative

---

<sup>140</sup> Carmelo Nepomuceno, *The Gomez Family of Angeles*, 13.

<sup>141</sup> Carmelo Nepomuceno, *The Gomez Family of Angeles*, 16.

<sup>142</sup> Carmelo Nepomuceno, *The Gomez Family of Angeles*, 14; Familysearch.org, “Spain, Marriages, 1565-1950.”; De Sequera Family, “De Sequera Family Genealogy Project.”

<sup>143</sup> Carmelo Nepomuceno, *The Gomez Family of Angeles*, 14.

<sup>144</sup> Carmelo Nepomuceno, *The Gomez Family of Angeles*, 15.

portrayal of the couple. In it, Tayag compares Nicolas with a corrupt priest character, Fr. Damaso, who appears in Jose Rizal's book *Noli Me Tangere*, and implies that Nicolas similarly abused his position as parish priest or at least took advantage of "the docile Angelinos" (meaning the people who resided in Angeles). Tayag also refers to Patricia (whom he names as Trinidad) as Nicolas's "favorite sinner" and states that she only "acquired wealth and respectability" through her relationship with the priest. However, Tayag has some of the basic information wrong. For instance, he names the mother of Fr. Masnou's children as "Trinidad" instead of Patricia, although he refers to her as Teresa Gomez's grandmother, so it was obviously the same woman.<sup>145</sup>

Nicolas and Patricia had a total of six children, including one who died in early childhood. Four of them were significant themselves, either as elites or due to otherwise historically noteworthy events, or connected to those with similar status through marriage. Nicolas and Patricia's son, Esteban, served a term as mayor of Angeles City. A daughter, Maria Teodora, was connected to the political elite Santos family through her marriage to Filomeno Leon Santos. Filomeno was *municipal presidente* of Mabalacat, Pampanga.<sup>146</sup> His father, Jose Santos, served as *gobernadocillo* of Porac, Pampanga in the 1880s. Jose's father, Celestino, also served Porac in that role, but a generation earlier, beginning in 1859. Celestino had begun his political career as the head of a local *barangay* in 1849.<sup>147</sup> Maria Teodora and Filomeno had a son, Francisco G. Santos (?-1965), who was a businessman who ran

---

<sup>145</sup> Tayag, *The Sinners of Angeles*, 8-9.

<sup>146</sup> Henares, "Filipino Alcalde-Mayores in the Province of Pampanga," 55; Angeles City Museum, "Heritage Sites."; De Sequera Family, "De Sequera Family Genealogy Project."; Carmelo Nepomuceno, *The Gomez Family of Angeles*, 16.

<sup>147</sup> Henares, "Filipino Alcalde-Mayores in the Province of Pampanga," 55.

the “first automobile dealership in [Angeles].”<sup>148</sup> Another of Nicolas and Patricia’s sons, Pedro Agustin Gomez, moved to his father’s hometown, Valladolid, Spain, where he married his paternal first cousin, Casilda Masnou (1861-?) in 1880, at the age of 22.<sup>149</sup> Isabel Gomez (1860-1898), a daughter of Nicolas and Patricia, married Manuel Dizon (1864-1902).<sup>150</sup> Manuel was a Nepomuceno relative by blood, as he was a grandson of Josefa Henson, whose niece, Maria Agustina Henson, married Pio Rafael Nepomuceno in 1847.<sup>151</sup> Manuel and Juan de Dios Nepomuceno (who along with his wife, Teresa is the central focus of *A Cofradia of Two*) are, therefore, second cousins once removed. This is the same relationship that both Manuel and Juan de Dios have with another Henson descendant, General Servillano Aquino, who aside from being an important military commander in the Philippine-American War, was also the ancestor of the Aquino oligarchic family of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries.<sup>152</sup> A great-grandson of Josefa Henson, Jose Mendiola, served as vice-mayor of Angeles City during the 1950s. The mayor whom he served under was another relative of the Nepomucenos, Manuel Abad Santos, whose relationship was described earlier in this chapter.<sup>153</sup>

Nicolas Guillermo Masnou served in Angeles City as a parish priest for more than 20 years.<sup>154</sup> In addition to his work as a priest, Nicolas also wrote articles in a

---

<sup>148</sup> Angeles City Museum, “Heritage Sites.”

<sup>149</sup> Familysearch.org, “Spain, Marriages, 1565-1950.”; De Sequera Family, “De Sequera Family Genealogy Project.”

<sup>150</sup> Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 129; De Sequera Family, “De Sequera Family Genealogy Project.”

<sup>151</sup> Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 123, 129.; Marc Nepomuceno, “The Nepomucenos of Pampanga.”

<sup>152</sup> Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 115; Sales, “Philippine Politics and Genealogy.”

<sup>153</sup> Tayag, *The Angeles Story*, 36.

<sup>154</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 97; Mariano Henson, *A Brief History of the Town of Angeles*, 77.; Angeles City Museum, “Heritage Sites.”

periodical, *Ilustracion Filipina*, under the pen name “El Tio Nadie.”<sup>155</sup> During this time, he was married (at least on paper) to Patricia Mercado. Patricia was a local businesswoman who was involved in the sugar industry. She is known to have owned at least two sugar mills in Mabalacat, Pampanga.<sup>156</sup> Nicolas eventually retired from his position as parish priest of Angeles City and moved to Manila. Since Patricia remained behind in Angeles and did not accompany Nicolas to the capital, it may be that they had broken up by this time.<sup>157</sup> Nicolas died in the Convent of San Pablo in 1895.<sup>158</sup> Patricia died five years later.<sup>159</sup>

Esteban Gomez (1856-1907) and Josefa Pamintuan (1861-1941) were the parents of *A Cofradia of Two*’s central focal person, Teresa Gomez, and as such are both Nepomuceno ancestors. Josefa’s parents, Vicente and Severina Pamintuan, were first cousins and “esteemed members of the landowning class” of Pampanga during the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>160</sup> Esteban and Josefa had twelve children, several of whom were either politically or economically significant elites in their own rights, or connected through marriage to other people who did hold such positions. One of their sons, Demetrio Gomez (1886-?), served a term as mayor of Angeles City from 1913-1916.<sup>161</sup> Another son, Vicente Gomez (1889-?), worked in the private sector as manager of the Angeles Ice Plant that was owned by his sister, Teresa, and her husband, Juan de Dios.

---

<sup>155</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 97.

<sup>156</sup> Carmelo Nepomuceno, *The Gomez Family of Angeles*, 11.; Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 95.

<sup>157</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 99.

<sup>158</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 99; De Sequera Family, “De Sequera Family Genealogy Project.”

<sup>159</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 99; De Sequera Family, “De Sequera Family Genealogy Project.”; Angeles City Museum, “Heritage Sites.”; Carmelo Nepomuceno, *The Gomez Family of Angeles*, 9.

<sup>160</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 28, 99; De Sequera Family, “De Sequera Family Genealogy Project.”

<sup>161</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 99.

Vicente's wife, Pilar Mende de Villa Abrille, also held a significant role within that family company.<sup>162</sup> A third son, Enrique Pio Gomez (1892-1962), ran a logging company called "Gomez Sawmills."<sup>163</sup> Enrique's daughter, Teresita Gomez (1929-Present), married Joaquin de Sequera (1924-Present). Their son, Jose Enrique de Sequera (1954-Present), runs a printing business in San Diego, California.<sup>164</sup> Maria Lourdes Rufina Gomez (1896-?) was another daughter of Esteban and Josefa. She married a local doctor, Julian Dycaico, and lived in Cutcut, Pampanga.<sup>165</sup> Another daughter, Isabel "Sabel," Gomez (1901-?), married Jose V. Abad Santos (1903-?) in San Fernando, Pampanga in 1925 at the age of 24.<sup>166</sup> Jose was a brother of Manuel Abad Santos who served as mayor of Angeles City in the 1950s.<sup>167</sup> Jose was a nephew of another Jose Abad Santos (1886-1942). Jose Sr. held several important political positions in the 1920s-1940s. Most of these were related to the court system. He became Secretary of Justice of the Philippines in 1938, a position he held until July 16, 1941. Within less than a month of the Philippines being invaded by the Japanese during World War II, Jose Sr. reached the height of his career as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Philippines, which he held until his death only a few months later.<sup>168</sup> On March 17, 1942, he was appointed acting president of the Philippines while

---

<sup>162</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 128; De Sequera Family, "De Sequera Family Genealogy Project."

<sup>163</sup> De Sequera Family, "De Sequera Family Genealogy Project."

<sup>164</sup> De Sequera Family, "De Sequera Family Genealogy Project." As a side note, Teresita's husband, Joaquin is a descendant of Christopher Columbus.

<sup>165</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 36; De Sequera Family, "De Sequera Family Genealogy Project."

<sup>166</sup> Family search.org, "Philippines, Marriages, 1723-1957."

<sup>167</sup> Tayag, *The Angeles Story*, 17-18.

<sup>168</sup> Iohan Reyes, "Abad Santos Family Tree."; Chin Kin Wah and Daljit Singh, ed., *Southeast Asian Affairs 2005*, (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Affairs, 2005), 298.; Camiling, "Biographies of Famous Kapampangans."; Erlinda Enriquez Panlilio, *Teacher to Tycoon: The Life and Times of Trinidad Diaz Enriquez*, (Manila, Philippines: Anvil Publishing Inc., 2000), 21.

the rest of the government was on exile abroad. Jose Sr. was executed by the Japanese less than two months later on May 02, 1942.<sup>169</sup>

Jose Sr. had a daughter, Amanda Abad Santos, who married Antonio Madrigal (1921-2007). Antonio's father, Vicente Lopez Madrigal, and sister, Pacita Madrigal, both served as senators of the Philippines. Pacita was also in charge of the Social Welfare Administration during the Magsaysay administration of the 1950s.<sup>170</sup> A brother-in-law of Pacita and Antonio, Manuel Collantes (1918-2009), represented Batangas as an assemblyman from 1984-1986 and briefly worked for the Marcos administration as Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1984.<sup>171</sup> Jose Jr. had another uncle, Pedro Abad Santos (1876-1945), who was justice of the peace in San Fernando, Pampanga, assemblyman, and congressman representing the second district of Pampanga. He ran for governor of Pampanga in 1926, but lost the election. Pedro is most historically important and best known as the founder of the Socialist Party of the Philippines.<sup>172</sup> A first cousin, Vicente Abad Santos (1916-1993), served the government as secretary of justice and associate justice of the Supreme Court of the Philippines from 1970-1986. He was appointed dean at the University of the Philippines's College of Law and led the country's foremost law school for eleven years, from 1958-1969.<sup>173</sup> Antonio Madrigal and Amanda Abad Santos had a daughter, Maria Anna Consuelo "Jamby" Madrigal

---

<sup>169</sup> Camiling, "Biographies of Famous Kapampangans."; Iohan Reyes, "Abad Santos Family Tree."

<sup>170</sup> Wah and Singh, *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 297-298.

<sup>171</sup> Christine O. Avendano and Cyril Bonabente, "Manuel Collantes is dead; 91," *Philippine Inquirer*, May 29, 2009, <http://globalnation.inquirer.net/news/news/view/20090529-207727/Manuel-Collantes-is-dead-91> (accessed April 15, 2014).

<sup>172</sup> Iohan Reyes, "Abad Santos Family Tree."; Camiling, "Biographies of Famous Kapampangans."; Gerard Clarke, *Civil Society in the Philippines: Theoretical, Methodological and Policy Debates*, (New York: Routledge, 2013), 148.

<sup>173</sup> Iohan Reyes, "Abad Santos Family Tree."

(1958-Present), who served as undersecretary of Social Welfare and Development in the 1990s and later as presidential adviser for Children's Affairs, and was elected senator in 2004 and served in that role for six years until 2010.<sup>174</sup>

Jose V. Abad Santos and Sabel Gomez had a daughter, Aida Abad Santos, who married Carlos J. "Charlie" Valdez (1920-2008). Charlie served as ambassador of the Philippines to Japan from 1978-1986 and also to Vatican City and Italy.<sup>175</sup> Charlie and Aida's son, Gabriel "Gabby" Valdes (1945-Present), married Pamela Panlilio – daughter of an elite Kapampangan family – and had two daughters, Bea and Marga. Pamela, Bea and Marga are all business partners in a fashion design company called Bea Valdes.<sup>176</sup> Pamela's father, Jose Lazatin "Peping" Panlilio, was a lawyer, and her paternal grandfather, Alejandro Jose Panlilio (1891-?), was a judge.<sup>177</sup> Pamela's mother, Fe Lague Sarmiento, was a prominent member of the business elite, who worked closely

---

<sup>174</sup> Wah and Singh, *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 297-298.; *ABS-CBN News*, "'Jamby' Maria Ana Consuel Abad Santos Madrigal, 54, Businesswoman, Liberal Party," 2012, <http://halalan2013.abs-cbnnews.com/senator/bio/7/Madrigal-Maria-Ana-Consuelo-Abad-Santos.html> (accessed April 15, 2014).

<sup>175</sup> Victor Agustin, "Valdes vs Valdes," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, July 11, 2006, [http://business.inquirer.net/money/columns/view/20060711-9294/Valdes\\_vs\\_Valdes](http://business.inquirer.net/money/columns/view/20060711-9294/Valdes_vs_Valdes) (accessed April 15, 2014).; Embassy of the Republic of the Philippines, "Former Philippine Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Japan," <http://tokyo.philembassy.net/the-embassy/the-ambassador/former-ambassadors/> (accessed April 15, 2014).; Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 290.; Erlinda Panlilio, *Belonging*, ix. Oni Mayo, "Ambassador Carlos Valdez, 88," <http://63menagerie.blogspot.com/2008/11/ambassador-carlos-valdez-88.html> (accessed April 15, 2014).; "La Salle's Bro. Bernie Bounces Back with Bang," <http://cocktalesblog.wordpress.com/2007/05/30/443/> (accessed April 15, 2014).

<sup>176</sup> Maurice Arcache, "Grand Family Bash Marks Miladay's 45th Anniversary," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, December 01, 2010, <http://lifestyle.inquirer.net/homeandentertaining/homeandentertaining/view/20101201-306249/Grand-family-bash-marks-Miladays-45th-anniversary> (accessed April 15, 2014).; Agustin, "Valdes vs Valdes."

<sup>177</sup> Toto Gonzalez, "Remembrance of Things Gone Awry."; Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 165.; Familysearch.org, "Philippines, Marriages, 1723-1957."; Alejandro Jose Panlilio, "Alejandro Jose Panlilio's World War I Registration Card," June 05, 1917, Familysearch.org.



with Imelda Romualdez during the Marcos administration as the first lady's personal jeweler.<sup>178</sup>

Teresa Gomez and Juan de Dios Nepomuceno had eleven children together, many of whom held socially prominent positions or were married to those who did. Their eldest son, Javier Jesus "Jave" Nepomuceno (1919-?), worked as a manager for his family's electric company for 13 years, from 1946-1959.<sup>179</sup> Jave also worked as a law professor at Ateneo University and at his family's Holy Angel Catholic College (which was later renamed Holy Angel University).<sup>180</sup> He married Maria Asuncion Marcelina Alicia Nepomuceno (1922-Present).<sup>181</sup> Maria Asuncion was her husband's paternal first cousin. They were also more distantly related through her mother Amanda Lourdes Henson (1895-1983) whose father, Jose Pedro Henson, had served as mayor of Angeles City.<sup>182</sup> Amanda was sister of the town historian, Mariano Angel Henson, and a half-sister of Maria Rosa Henson, the woman who (as noted above) became internationally famous for exposing the Japanese military's atrocities towards "comfort women" during the Second World War.<sup>183</sup> Aureo Jose "Rely" Nepomuceno (1921-2014) was the second child born to Juan de Dios Nepomuceno and Teresa Gomez.<sup>184</sup> Rely

---

<sup>178</sup> Erlinda Panlilio, *Belonging*, ix.; Visitacion R. de la Torre, *The Filipino Child: Images & Insights*, (Makiti, Philippines: Tower Book House, 1992), 155-156. Arcache, "Grand Family Bash Marks Miladay's 45th Anniversary."; Agustin, "Valdes vs Valdes."; Toto Gonzalez, "Remembrance of Things Gone Awry."

<sup>179</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 51.; Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 50.

<sup>180</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 51-54.

<sup>181</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 127.; Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 50.

<sup>182</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 137.; Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 54, 119.; Angeles City Museum, "Heritage Sites."; Marc Nepomuceno, "Naval."; Camiling, "Biographies of Famous Kapampangans."

<sup>183</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 58.; Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 119.; Mydans, "Maria Rosa Henson, 69, Dies."; Maria Rosa Henson, *Comfort Woman*, 12.; Asian Women's Fund, "Testimonies of the Victims."

<sup>184</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 145.; Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 50.;

was a Jesuit priest who was ordained at Woodstock College in Woodstock, Maryland in 1951 when he was 30 years old.<sup>185</sup> He became headmaster of a religious all boys elementary school, “Ateneo,” in Manila. It had 2000 students and 50 teachers.<sup>186</sup>

The third child of Juan de Dios and Teresa was Geromin Pedro “Min” Nepomuceno (1923-1975).<sup>187</sup> Min served one term as a councilor of Angeles City. He also ran in two elections, for the offices of vice-mayor and mayor of Angeles, respectively, but he did not win either election.<sup>188</sup> He served Holy Angel University as its president from 1973 until his death two years later.<sup>189</sup> The next child born to Juan de Dios and Teresa was Mamerto Juan “Tok” Nepomuceno (1925-2002).<sup>190</sup> Tok was a businessman who founded his own ice cream business shortly after the conclusion of the Second World War.<sup>191</sup>

Patricio Carmelo “Miling” Nepomuceno (1927-Present) and his sister, Teresita Marcela “Teresing” Nepomuceno (1929-Present), both had careers in the medical field.<sup>192</sup> Miling worked as a doctor and Teresing as a nurse.<sup>193</sup> Miling was also the genealogist who wrote *The Gomez Family of Angeles, Pampanga and the Mercado*

---

Ateneo de Zamboanga University, “Fr. Aureo G. Nepomuceno SJ, 1921-2014,” [www.adzu.edu.ph/index.php/archive/3007-fr-aureo-g-nepomuceno-sj-1921-2014.html](http://www.adzu.edu.ph/index.php/archive/3007-fr-aureo-g-nepomuceno-sj-1921-2014.html) (accessed August 24, 2016).

<sup>185</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 150.

<sup>186</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 151.

<sup>187</sup> Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 50.; Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 50.; Holy Angel University, “History.”

<sup>188</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 292.

<sup>189</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 354-356.

<sup>190</sup> Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 51.; Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 29.; MyHeritage.com, “Nepomuceno Family Tree,” <https://records-myheritagelibraryedition-com.access-proxy.sno-isle.org/research/collection-40001/familysearch-family-tree?itemId=1002025238&action=showRecord> (accessed August 24, 2016).

<sup>191</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 371-372.

<sup>192</sup> Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 51.; Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 185, 201.

<sup>193</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 189.

*Relatives.* While she was working as a nurse in Clark Air Base Hospital near Angeles City, Teresing met her husband, an American soldier named Darrel Ray “Al” Wilkerson (1932-Present).<sup>194</sup> Al and Teresing married in 1952.<sup>195</sup> Al came from humble roots. His father and brother worked as “pumpers” in an oil field in Al’s native state, Oklahoma, and his ancestors back to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century were farmers in Virginia, Illinois, and Ohio.<sup>196</sup> Al himself became socially prominent in the Philippines by creating and operating two businesses, which were called “Al’s Trading” and “Leadway.” He sold them in 1977 and 1979 respectively.<sup>197</sup> Another child of Juan de Dios and Teresa, Josefina Marcela “Pining” Nepomuceno (1934-Present), became socially prominent in the Catholic Church. She became a nun and later served as president of the institution that her parents founded, Holy Angel University.<sup>198</sup>

Pedro Pablo “Peter” Nepomuceno (1936-Present) is a businessman and engineer whose work substantially contributed to his family’s ability to maintain their

---

<sup>194</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 216.; Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 51.; 1940 U.S. census, Pawnee County, Oklahoma, population schedule, Lagoon Township, digital transcriptions, Familysearch.org, accessed 2014, <http://familysearch.org>.

<sup>195</sup> Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 51.

<sup>196</sup> 1940 U.S. Census, Pawnee County, Oklahoma.; 1910 U.S. census, Tulsa County, Oklahoma, population schedule, Tulsa Ward 4, digital transcriptions, Familysearch.org, accessed 2014, <http://familysearch.org>.; 1900 U.S. census, Woods County, Oklahoma, population schedule, Waynoka Township, digital transcriptions, Familysearch.org, accessed 2014, <http://familysearch.org>.; 1880 U.S. census, Brown County, Illinois, population schedule, Lee, digital transcriptions, Familysearch.org, accessed 2014, <http://familysearch.org>.; 1870 U.S. census, Fairfield County, Ohio, population schedule, Violet Township, digital transcriptions, Familysearch.org, accessed 2014, <http://familysearch.org>.; 1860 U.S. census, Jefferson County, Illinois, population schedule, digital transcriptions, Familysearch.org, accessed 2014, <http://familysearch.org>.; 1850 U.S. census, Jefferson County, Illinois, population schedule, digital transcriptions, Familysearch.org, accessed 2014, <http://familysearch.org>.; Ancestry.com, “Public Member Photos & Scanned Documents,” <http://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=1093> (accessed April 15, 2014).; Sandy Whalen Bauer, “Ancestors of Sandra (Whalen) Bauer,” <http://wc.rootsweb.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op=PED&db=sandyebauer&id=I36975> (accessed April 15, 2014).

<sup>197</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 216.

<sup>198</sup> Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 53.; Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 276-277, 280.

fortune and power into the 21<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>199</sup> He began his career in 1959 when he was put in charge of the Angeles Electric Company, which his parents owned.<sup>200</sup> Peter's most significant accomplishment was in transforming much of his family's agricultural land (which was traditionally used to grow sugarcane and rice) into the "Villa Teresa Subdivision."<sup>201</sup> The construction of Villa Teresa greatly increased the wealth, power, and prestige of the Nepomuceno family and includes the Nepo-Mart mall, which is still owned and operated by the Nepomuceno family in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

### **Nepomuceno Family in the 21<sup>st</sup> century**

In the early 21<sup>st</sup> century (when *A Cofradia of Two*, *The Gomez Family of Angeles, Pampanga*, and *Destiny and Destination* were published) the descendants of Juan de Dios Nepomuceno, Teresa Gomez, and their siblings still had substantial political and economic power in Pampanga. Francisco "Blueboy" Nepomuceno represented Pampanga as a congressman from 2001-2007. The Angeles Electric Corporation, Teresa Waterworks, Holy Angel University, the Nepomuceno Realty Group, the Angeles Ice Plant, and numerous other institutions and companies were owned and/or managed by the Nepomuceno family. Other companies owned by the family include those that operate the "Nepo-Mart" and produce products such as soft drinks and agricultural sacks.<sup>202</sup> The Nepo-Mart and Nepo Mall are both owned by a company called Juan D.

---

<sup>199</sup> Marco Nepomuceno, *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City*, 53.; Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 283.

<sup>200</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 286, 292.

<sup>201</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 288-289.

<sup>202</sup> Peter Kreuzer, "Mafia-style Domination: The Philippine Province of Pampanga," *Peace Research Institute Frankfurt*, PRIF-Report no. 114, (2012), 9-11, [mercury.ethz.ch/serviceengine/Files/ISN/154686/.../prif114.pdf](http://mercury.ethz.ch/serviceengine/Files/ISN/154686/.../prif114.pdf), (accessed April 16, 2014).

Nepomuceno Sons, Inc., which was named in honor of Juan de Dios Nepomuceno.<sup>203</sup> Robin “Bongbing” Nepomuceno served as captain of the Cutcut *barangay* within Angeles City from 1997-2010.<sup>204</sup> Four members of the Nepomuceno family (Teresita, Peter, Geromin Jr., and Josefina) were on Holy Angel University’s board of trustees at time of writing in 2016. Bishop Paciano Aniceto was also a member of the board of trustees at that time. This is a significant link between the Nepomuceno family and the local church leadership (see Appendix D for more information about Bishop Aniceto). Holy Angel’s 2016 leadership also included Jeffrey Nepomuceno (a son of Geromin Jr.) who served as “director [of] campus services and development.”<sup>205</sup>

Peter Nepomuceno, son of Juan de Dios and Teresa, was one of the most powerful Nepomucenos in Pampanga at the dawn of the 21st century. He was a lead figure in the Angeles Electric Corporation, the Teresa Waterworks, and the Nepomuceno Realty Group. Peter also had key leadership roles in other important companies outside Pampanga, such as the Mindanao Energy Corporation. The Angeles Electric Corporation was very important in Pampanga because it maintained “a local monopoly franchise over the delivery of electricity to Angeles City and parts of the [nearby] Clark Special Economic Zone.” The Teresa Waterworks is a major water utility company in the Angeles area, although unlike the Angeles Electric Corporation, it did not have a monopoly.<sup>206</sup>

---

<sup>203</sup> *Headline Gitnang Luzon*, “Nepo Mall Angeles celebrates 11 years,” <http://www.headlinegl.com/nepo-mall-angeles-celebrates-11-years/> (accessed August 17, 2016).

<sup>204</sup> Files, “Nepomuceno Political Dynasty.”

<sup>205</sup> Holy Angel University, “University Leadership,” <http://www.hau.edu.ph/gs/gsuniversityleadership.php> (accessed August 25, 2016).

<sup>206</sup> Peter Kreuzer, “Mafia-style Domination: The Philippine Province of Pampanga,” 10.

## **Conclusion**

The Nepomucenos held a very significant amount of political and economic power in the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century (when *A Cofradia of Two* and *Destiny and Destination* were published). This was clearly not a new phenomenon as they had already been deeply entrenched in the political structure, business community, and religious organizations of Pampanga dating back nearly two centuries. The government positions held and the economic wealth gained through their investments and businesses were used to help fuel their continued rise, so that over the course of the past century, the Nepomucenos have gradually become more thoroughly established in the local power structure. The fact that the Nepomucenos were already so deeply entrenched meant that the people of Pampanga, for whom *A Cofradia of Two* and *Destiny and Destination* were the intended audience, would have already been well aware of the impressive status of the Nepomuceno family and, hence, would be more likely to buy into the idea that they had a similarly prestigious history as the oligarchic families.

## CHAPTER 2: HISTORY OF CLERICAL CELIBACY AND 'ILLEGITIMACY'

### Introduction

Although priests having sexual relationships of any kind, particularly those resulting in children, are frowned upon by the Catholic Church, this has not always been the case. This chapter details the history of priests who fathered children throughout the world from the time it was officially allowed until *A Cofradia of Two* and *Destiny and Destination* were published at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Since prior to European colonialism Catholicism was a predominantly European sect of Christianity, the focus on the early period (when having wives and children was permissible for priests) is on the situation in Europe. In 1563 the rules changed (due to the Council of Trent), such that Catholic priests were forbidden to have sexual relations.<sup>1</sup> This edict was intended to apply throughout all Catholic jurisdictions, but was not enforced in the Philippines, at least as of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

In this chapter, the period immediately after the Council of Trent went into effect is detailed in other parts of the world besides Europe (where Catholicism was still numerically significant), such as Latin America. This is followed by a description of how clerical sexual relations were treated in Catholicism during the 19<sup>th</sup> century specifically, since that was the period that had the most direct and discernible impact on the situation in the Philippines. After the 19<sup>th</sup> century, social norms began to change in

---

<sup>1</sup> Cholij, Roman. "Priestly Celibacy in Patristics and in the History of the Church." in *For Love Alone: Reflections on Priestly Celibacy*, ed. Ignace de la Potterie. (St. Paul, Minnesota: Hyperion Books, 1993), [http://www.vatican.va/roman\\_curia/congregations/cclergy/documents/rc\\_con\\_cclergy\\_doc\\_01011993\\_chi sto\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cclergy/documents/rc_con_cclergy_doc_01011993_chi sto_en.html) (accessed August 17, 2016).

many countries, so that priests having wives and children began to slowly become more socially acceptable, although even at time of writing (in 2016), the Catholic Church still does not permit its priests to have sexual relationships or father children. The situation in these other countries and regions is compared to that in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Philippines and to 21<sup>st</sup> century Pampanga since that is what is most directly relevant to the thesis in regards to the Nepomucenos and their priestly ancestor.

The primary focal points of this chapter are the comparisons of the perceptions and legality of clerical celibacy and the treatment of children of priests inside and outside the Philippines. The emphasis is on aspects that are directly relevant to the Nepomucenos' books. This is because the context in the Philippines cannot be completely understood without also examining the larger context of Catholicism's engagement with celibacy. A broader history of children born outside wedlock is also included, with an emphasis on how they were legally and socially treated. It is important to note that the perceptions and resulting treatment of the children of priests did not exist in a vacuum. They were part of the larger context of the treatment of children of unwed parents which hinged upon the cultural perceptions of many Europeans and people in societies that were influenced by them. Since priests were not permitted to marry after the Council of Trent, any children they had were, by definition, born out of wedlock. This is important because so called 'illegitimate' children (the exact definition varies, but it generally means those whose parents were not married when they were born) were often put into a distinctly separate legal category from other people. Children born out of wedlock had fewer legal rights than those whose parents were married, in



addition to being subjected to a significant degree of social stigma. Children of priests fit into this category because their parents could not legally marry. In some cases they were treated even more harshly because their fathers were priests. In situations where information about the treatment of children (who specifically had priests as fathers) is scanty, information from the broader category of children whose parents were not married (regardless of the parents' occupations) can be useful to gain insight into how they were treated and considered in a particular time and place.

### **History of Priests Having Children (prior to the Council of Trent)**

When Christianity first began as a religion, it was acceptable and considered normal for priests to marry and have children. There was no stigma against priests marrying or otherwise engaging in sexual relations, just as there were no negative attitudes toward politicians or farmers or men of any other occupation marrying or having sex. The idea that it was morally wrong for clergy to have sexual relations with women did not exist as a concept during much of the pre-Trent period. Some of the earliest and most important leaders of the Christian religion were married priests. Additionally, several popes and other high-ranking church officials throughout history were either married or had children outside of wedlock.<sup>2</sup> At least 17 popes either had illegitimate children or were themselves the children of "other clergy."<sup>3</sup> Despite the fact

---

<sup>2</sup> Matilda Joslyn Gage, *Woman, Church and State: A Historical Account of the Status of Woman Through the Christian Ages, with Reminiscences of Matriarchate*, (Chicago: C.H. Kerr, 1893), 97.; George L. Williams, *Papal Genealogy: The Families and Descendants of the Popes*, (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 1998), 13-15.

<sup>3</sup> Corpus Canada, "A Brief History of Celibacy in the Catholic Church," <http://futurechurch.org/brief-history-of-celibacy-in-catholic-church> (accessed August 17, 2016).

that the practice of priests marrying and having children was permitted in early Christianity, there were several major efforts to impose varying degrees of celibacy on members of the clergy.<sup>4</sup> Some of these were regionally or temporarily successful, but for the most part they did not seriously detract from the occurrence and general acceptability of clerical wives and offspring. The early arguments against married priests were focused on the concept of a dynastic church leadership. People were opposed to the notion that one family line would control the church, just as kings ruled over countries and the Islamic caliphs served as hereditary temporal and religious leaders. The idea that a priest could pass his position and influence down to his son was regarded with great suspicion. If priests never had sex they would not have offspring, and so, dynasties could not continue.<sup>5</sup>

Similarly, there was no substantial stigma associated with having children out of wedlock, regardless of whether or not the child was that of a priest or anyone else. Over the centuries social attitudes and religious restrictions gradually changed, and rules were put into place that substantially limited the ability of priests to marry and to have children out of wedlock without suffering significant degrees of legal and social stigma.<sup>6</sup> The reasons for the ban on clerical sexual relations were a mixture of religious and practical considerations. From a religious standpoint, it was widely believed “that virginity was the condition of life most pleasing to God and a proof of the highest moral

---

<sup>4</sup> Phipps, *Clerical Celibacy*, x.

<sup>5</sup> William Saunders, “Celibacy in the Priesthood,” *Arlington Catholic Herald*, 2004.

<http://www.catholiceducation.org/en/religion-and-philosophy/apologetics/celibacy-in-the-priesthood.html> (accessed August 17, 2016).; Iain G. MacDonald, *Clerics and Clansmen: The Diocese of Argyll between the Twelfth and Sixteenth Centuries*, (Leiden, Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2013), 165-166.

<sup>6</sup> William Saunders, “Celibacy in the Priesthood.”

character.” This meant by definition that priests who had sexual relations were inherently less fit for their clerical duties than those who did not. Priests who had sex were considered “defiled” by church authorities and, to a lesser extent, by the general public.<sup>7</sup> In a strictly practical sense, it was also considered bad practice for priests to marry and/or have children because supporting a family could split the priest’s loyalties and increase the likelihood that they would embezzle money or otherwise spend the resources of the Church in order to meet familial obligations.<sup>8</sup>

Despite religious and practical misgivings in regards to clerical wives and offspring, restrictions on clerical sex were variably enforced and perceived throughout a gradually shifting patchwork of different Catholic feudal territories. In some places (such as parts of France), there was “no stigma attached” to priests having families to the extent that being the wife or child of a priest was actually considered “more honorable” than not, since “the touch of a priest had sanctified” them in the eyes of their community.<sup>9</sup> In places (such as Rome) where clerical sex was banned, the extent and nature of the offense often measured strongly in the degree to which people would try to prohibit it prior to the 16<sup>th</sup> century (as in people would interfere in extreme situations but be less likely to intervene when the nature of the offense was less publicly noticeable or offensive). Priests who had wives and/or children would be persecuted for doing so in some jurisdictions. For instance, in 1095 Pope Urban II “stated...that clerical wives

---

<sup>7</sup> Earl Evelyn Sperry, “History of Clerical Celibacy in Western Europe to the Council of Trent” (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1903), 1-2.

<sup>8</sup> Polyarp Pengo, “Priestly Celibacy and Problems of Inculturation,” [http://www.vatican.va/roman\\_curia/congregations/cclergy/documents/rc\\_con\\_cclergy\\_doc\\_01011993\\_prob\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cclergy/documents/rc_con_cclergy_doc_01011993_prob_en.html) (accessed August 17, 2016).; Gage, *Woman, Church and State*, 94.

<sup>9</sup> Gage, *Woman, Church and State*, 87.

might be offered to noblemen as slaves, if [the noblemen] aided the pope” and the priests’ children were to be “abandoned.” This edict was only sporadically enforced. Although such instances of persecution were sometimes quite severe, they were often associated with the particular political or religious leader who ordered them and seldom lasted much longer than the end of his time in office.<sup>10</sup> Sometimes new church edicts were passed that sought to restrict or eliminate clerical marriages, such as the decrees of the Second Lateran Council of 1139, in which “women who had been the wives of priests saw their status changed to that of concubines and some reformers classed them with prostitutes.” This was intended as a practical means of limiting the number of priests who used church funds for their families’ upkeep.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, these church edicts were not successful in an enduring or significant degree until the Council of Trent. In many jurisdictions only the most extreme cases were punished and even then it took a while before anything happened. This was because many people held the Church in high esteem and, because of their religious beliefs, did not want to draw negative attention to the so-called men of God. This was a common occurrence in an era where it was not yet generally enforced and established that clerics should not marry. Pope John XIII (reigned 965-972), for instance, had a harem of 300 nuns and became known for a number of other sex scandals, including housing prostitutes in the Lateran

---

<sup>10</sup> Jennifer D. Thibodeaux, *The Manly Priest: Clerical Celibacy, Masculinity, and Reform in England and Normandy, 1066-1300*, (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 48-52.; Brian Milne, *The History and Theory of Children’s Citizenship in Contemporary Societies*, (New York: Springer, 2013), 98.

<sup>11</sup> Patricia Timmons and Robert Boenig, ed, *Gonzalo de Berceo and the Latin Miracles of the Virgin: A Translation and a Study*, (New York: Routledge, 2016), 136-137.

Palace.<sup>12</sup> A predecessor, John XII (reigned 955-964), was widely regarded as a playboy pope and “had numerous lovers and mistresses.”<sup>13</sup> Similarly a prominent bishop in 13<sup>th</sup> century Belgium had at least “sixty-five illegitimate children.”<sup>14</sup> In all three cases, the relationships of the involved clergy were widely known, but no one intervened at a legal level until well past the point at which the situations became unquestionably extreme (as relates to clerical celibacy or even monogamy), and even then, not everyone went along with removing the offenders from power. Indeed, a combination of local officials from Rome’s environs and other supporters actually helped restore John XII to his position after he had been deposed, despite his reputation as a womanizer and the fact that outside authorities had formally charged him with crimes such as “sacrilege” and “incest,” in addition to taking issue with the fact that “under his reign the papal residence brimmed with scantily clad young women, the pope’s drunken [friends] and all night parties.”<sup>15</sup> Had the church officials kept only moderate numbers of wives and/or concubines, they likely would have faced little if any penalty in those times, since it would have been less noticeable and the drain on the economy from their support less significant. Although clerics having relationships with women were not

---

<sup>12</sup> Gage, *Woman, Church and State*, 97.; John Jewel, “The Defense of the Apology of the Church of England,” in *The Works of John, Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury*, ed. John Ayre, (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1850), 651.; Albert Barnes, *Notes, Explanatory and Practical on the Epistles of Paul to the Thessalonians, to Timothy, to Titus, and to Philemon*, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1846), 94.; Soledad de Montalvo, *Women, Food, and Sex in History*, vol. 2, (Austin, Texas: American Atheist Press, 1988), 576.

<sup>13</sup> Williams, *Papal Genealogy*, 15.

<sup>14</sup> Gage, *Woman, Church and State*, 97.

<sup>15</sup> Williams, *Papal Genealogy*, 15.; Lawrance Binda, *The Big Bad Book of John: Rogues, Rascals and Rapsallions Named John, Jonathan and Jack*, (Lincoln, Nebraska: iUniverse, Inc., 2003), 96-98.; Vivian H.H. Green, *A New History of Christianity*, (New York: Continuum Publishing Company, 2000), 64.; John Dowling, *The History of Romanism: From the Earliest Corruptions of Christianity to the Present Time*, (New York: Edward Walker, 1845), 218-219.

highly regarded by the public due to religious and practical considerations, it was commonly accepted, in a medieval European context, that such situations did occur. The priests involved were generally not penalized.<sup>16</sup> In Switzerland, for instance, relationships between women and priests were encouraged by local authorities to the point where laws were passed circa 1520 in which “many Swiss congregations require for the sake of peace and the honor of families, that a newly appointed priest shall keep a concubine for himself in his house.” This was based on the idea that priests should not marry per se (hence a “concubine” was required and not a wife), but that members of the clergy should have some form of romantic relationship in order to lessen the chance that they would seek them out with otherwise unavailable members of their congregations, such as by abusing their positions in the confessional.<sup>17</sup> This practice was so strongly adhered to that in Germany, for instance, “90% of German priests [were found to be] living in concubinage” in the years immediately preceding the Council of Trent.<sup>18</sup>

Despite the relative acceptability of the existence of priestly families in that era, the children of priests were still subject to restrictions and sometimes social discrimination, and they were specifically forbidden careers in the Church. During medieval times and the early modern period, it was generally accepted that children

---

<sup>16</sup> John William Draper, *A History of the Intellectual Development of Europe*, (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1863), 498.

<sup>17</sup> Ludwig Hausser, *The Period of Reformation 1517 to 1648*, ed. Wilhelm Oncken, trans. G. Sturge, (New York: American Tract Society, 1873), 133.; Stephen Haliczzer, *Sexuality in the Confessional: A Sacrament Profaned*, (New York: Oxford University Press USA, 1996), 119.; Elizabeth Abbott, *Mistresses: A History of the Other Women*, (York: The Overlook Press, 2010), GoogleBooks e-book .

<sup>18</sup> A.W. Richard Sipe, *Sex, Priests, and Power: Anatomy of a Crisis*, (New York: Brunner-Routledge, 1995), 115.; MacDonald, *Clerics and Clansmen*, 165.

follow their parents' professions, but this was a significant problem for priestly offspring, since they were not allowed to do that. It was possible to circumvent this issue by formally requesting a "dispensation from illegitimacy" from the Church. A dispensation would effectively declare that an illegitimate child was legitimate in the eyes of the law.<sup>19</sup> It is important to note that in this period (and until very recently), being an illegitimate child (i.e., born to unmarried parents) was considered a serious problem in European culture. The mothers and children themselves were subjected to greater social and legal penalties than the fathers.<sup>20</sup> Receiving a dispensation from illegitimacy required a significant amount of bureaucratic complications that involved sending an application to the Apostolic Penitentiary, which functioned as the legal court for "the most serious" sins committed against the Catholic belief system.<sup>21</sup> Since priests having children were considered sinful, applications were sent to the Apostolic Penitentiary on behalf of children wishing to be legitimized. Following a legal process, the child was either declared legitimate or not according to the discretion of the church officials. The willingness of the Apostolic Penitentiary to grant a dispensation was based upon the "phraseology" used in the application, the personal biases of the officials involved in the case, and practical considerations relating to the recruitment process. If there were large numbers of potential priests in a given area who were the sons of married parents, it was not necessary to grant a son of unmarried parents a dispensation. Essentially,

---

<sup>19</sup> Kirsi Salonen and Ludwig Schmugge, *A Sip from the "Well of Grace:" Medieval Texts from the Apostolic Penitentiary*, (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2009), 57-59.

<sup>20</sup> Frances and Joseph Gies, *Daily Life in Medieval Times: A Vivid, Detailed Account of Birth, Marriage and Death; Food, Clothing and Housing; Love and Labor in the Middle Ages*, (New York: HarperCollins, 1990), 178.

<sup>21</sup> Cindy Wooden, "For 830 Years, Apostolic Penitentiary has Focused on Forgiveness," *Catholic News Service*, 2009, <http://www.catholicnews.com/data/stories/cns/0900179.htm> (accessed August 17, 2016).

this situation occurred when the Church could do better, since there were other more qualified men available (because their parents had been married, so that made them inherently better in a religious sense). If there were few people in an area who wanted to be priests (there was essentially little competition) and among them was an otherwise good candidate whose parents had not been married at his birth, then the odds of his being granted a dispensation were much higher.<sup>22</sup> If the Apostolic Penitentiary did not decide in the child's favor, then he or she could never hold a position in the church and in some locations would be viewed unfavorably by broader society (which saw children of priests as something akin to abominations and generally treated them as second class citizens). Since "canon law [was] regulated very strictly" in that regard, the odds of an application being turned down were relatively high.<sup>23</sup> If, however, a request for dispensation was approved, then the applicant had the same legal status as a person who had been born to married parents.

### **Council of Trent (1545-1563)**

During the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the ban on clerical sexual relations became a permanent and solidified fixture within the Catholic belief structure. This was a result of the Council of Trent, which lasted from 1545 to 1563. The Council of Trent was a series of meetings held by the leadership of the Catholic Church in which the laws of the denomination were debated through "lengthy and acrimonious negotiation" and ultimately finalized. The most prominent motivation for the Council of Trent was the rise

---

<sup>22</sup> Kirsi Salonen and Jussi Hanska, ed., *Entering a Clerical Career at the Roman Curia, 1458-1471*, (Farnham, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2013), GoogleBooks e-book.

<sup>23</sup> Salonen and Schmugge, *A Sip from the "Well of Grace"*, 61.



of the rival Protestant sect in Europe. Pope Paul III and Emperor Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire (“the Holy Roman Emperor was traditionally recognized as the Protector of the Church”) were “the most persistent advocates” for the Council of Trent and were the most “directly responsible” for its existence and the character of the issues upon which it focused.

The perceived threat posed by the Protestants to the Catholic Church was the primary motivation for both Pope Paul III and Emperor Charles V to support the Council. The Protestants had first emerged in 1517, and by the time the Council of Trent began meeting in 1545, the Protestants had become a major political and religious rival for control of Western Europe. There were several major issues that the Catholic leadership addressed in the Council of Trent. The two most relevant for this thesis were the changes made in order to differentiate the Catholic Church from the Protestants and the efforts made to eliminate corruption among the priesthood. Corruption had been a major problem prior to the Council of Trent, with many members of the clergy using their official positions within the Church “seemingly without scruple” to “pocket the revenue from the benefices and devoted their time and energy to other pursuits” that were not related to their priestly duties.<sup>24</sup> The members of the church leadership who participated in the Council of Trent also believed that the loyalties of sexually active priests were divided between their families and Catholicism. Priests were essentially seen as more trustworthy and possessing “unqualified allegiance” if they remained

---

<sup>24</sup> John W. O'Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013), GoogleBooks e-book.

celibate, whereas they were potential defectors to Protestantism if they had sex.<sup>25</sup> The results were many changes in the laws of the Catholic Church. In the context of this thesis, the important part was that clerical celibacy was mandated by religious law. It was also much more actively enforced than had previously been the case under the less stringent bans that been only sporadically followed in the past.<sup>26</sup>

After the Council of Trent, the Catholic Church no longer offered any compromises (until the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century) when it came to the “prohibition of clerical marriage.”<sup>27</sup> The divide between clergy who had children and those who did not became inherently associated with the difference between Christian denominations: Catholic priests could not marry or have children, but Protestants commonly did without penalty. The strong anti-Protestant rhetoric within the 16<sup>th</sup>-century Catholic Church and the desire to enforce and preserve a clear distinction between the two rival sects “gave Trent an impetus to enforce its law unlike any previous councils” and paved the way for enforced prevention of family life for the Catholic priesthood.<sup>28</sup> These legal changes did not bring about an instantaneous shift in the way priests throughout Christendom behaved, but it did signal the beginning of the end of the period in which sexual relationships involving clergy (regardless of whether or not they produced children) were tolerated by the Church’s leadership. For example, children born to priests who had been married prior to the Council of Trent were allowed to follow in their fathers’

---

<sup>25</sup> Phipps, *Clerical Celibacy*, 160.

<sup>26</sup> O'Malley, *Trent*.

<sup>27</sup> Cholij, Roman. "Priestly Celibacy in Patristics and in the History of the Church."

<sup>28</sup> Thomas O'Loughlin, "History of Celibacy in the Catholic Church," ACP: Association of Catholic Priests, <http://www.associationofcatholicpriests.ie/2012/05/celibacy-in-the-catholic-church-a-brief-history/> (accessed March 29, 2015).

footsteps and become priests themselves in certain contexts, whereas children born to priests who married after the Council of Trent went into effect were banned from such positions. This was noted to have occurred in Malabar, a Portuguese and later Dutch colony in India.<sup>29</sup> In time, it became socially unacceptable for priests to have children, with even ordinary people (outside the church hierarchy) accepting the teaching that it was morally wrong. The situation gradually evolved to the point where priests in Catholic-dominated countries (with the exception of the Philippines and Peru) could not have children without losing their positions. Their illicit families could be enslaved, and they could be excommunicated, or in other ways face considerable social ostracism.<sup>30</sup>

### **History of Children of Priests in the Broader World (Post-Council of Trent)**

Although in some instances it was possible for priests to have children after the Council of Trent without those offspring being persecuted, this was not the general rule in most of the Catholic world. Having a child out of wedlock has been heavily frowned upon in Europe since the late sixteenth century. Children born (and in some cases conceived) when their parents were not married faced a lifetime of discrimination, according to the social norms of this time. In some places this extended beyond the illegitimate children themselves and also affected their offspring, regardless of whether

---

<sup>29</sup> Michael Geddes, *The History of the Church of Malabar: From the Time of its Being First Discover'd by the Poruguezes in the Year 1501 Giving an Account of the Persecutions and Violent Methods of the Roman Prelates, to Reduce them to the Subjection of the Church of Rome*, (London: Sam. Smith and Benj. Walford, 1694), 310.

<sup>30</sup> Gage, *Woman, Church and State*, 82.; Nicholas A. Robins, *Priest-Indian Conflict in Upper Peru: The Generation of Rebellion, 1750-1780*, (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2007), 30.; Kenneth Mills, William B. Taylor, and Sandra Lauderdale Graham, ed., *Colonial Latin America: A Documentary History*, (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2002), 176.

or not the intervening generation(s) had married. Workplace discrimination was so high that “in eighteenth century Germany...no guild would accept an applicant with illegitimate grandparents, let alone [anyone] who was himself not legitimately born.”<sup>31</sup>

The situation in Germany is a very good example of the stark contrast between the pre- and post-Council-of-Trent contexts for priestly offspring. Less than a decade before the Council of Trent, “90% of German priests” had families, which implied a certain degree of acceptance.<sup>32</sup> After the Council of Trent, children and grandchildren of unmarried couples (including, but not limited to descendants of priests) were effectively barred from employment. Similarly, European nobles who had distant ancestors who had been born out of wedlock were required to “cut the point of the shield” in their families’ coats of arms “with a different colour called plain,” so that their “mark of bastardy” would be visually apparent.<sup>33</sup> This was known in heraldry as the “baton sinister” and was definitively used in England, Ireland, France, and Scotland from at least the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards, although it is implied in heraldic dictionaries that other European countries, such as Spain, may have used the baton sinister in a similar capacity and that the term itself may be of non-English origin.<sup>34</sup> It is important to note

---

<sup>31</sup> Richard Adair, *Courtship, Illegitimacy and Marriage in Early Modern England*, (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1996), 89.

<sup>32</sup> Sipe, *Sex, Priests, and Power*, 115.

<sup>33</sup> Temple Henry Croker, Thomas Williams, and Samuel Clark, *The Complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences in which the Whole Circle of Human Learning is Explained*, vol. 2. (London: J. Wilson & J Fell, 1765), 7.

<sup>34</sup> Legitimus, “Illegitimacy of the Sinclairs of Ulbster,” in *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, vol 21, ed. Sylvanus Urban, (London, England: William Pickering, John Bowyer Nicholas and Son, 1844), 592.; Arthur Charles Fox-Davies, *A Complete Guide to Heraldry*, (New York: Skyhorse Publishing, Inc., 2007), 139, 520.; Stephen Friar and John Ferguson, *Basic Heraldry*, (London, England: The Herbert Press Limited, 1993), 189.; John Woodward and George Burnett, *A Treatise on Heraldry: British and Foreign with English and French Glossaries*, vol. 2, (Edinburgh, Scotland: W. & K. Johnston, 1892), 560.; William Berry, *An Introduction to Heraldry, containing the Rudiments of the Science General, and other Necessary*

that the baton sinister was specifically for the “legitimate descendants of bastards” and not for people whose parents were not married. This implies that the resulting stigma was intended to carry on for an indefinite number of generations and certainly well beyond living memory of the offenders. It is, therefore, unlikely that elite women would be interested in marrying priests or their descendants in post-Trent Europe since doing so would permanently taint the woman’s line and, by association, perhaps her other relatives as well.

Unlike the pre-Council-of-Trent era, during which the wives and children of priests might have been considered “sanctified,” the families of priests in subsequent centuries were believed to be intrinsically “immoral” and their very existence “sacrilegious.”<sup>35</sup> The reason for this treatment was that the general public believed that illegitimate children were inherently different from their born-through-marriage counterparts on both physical and spiritual levels. It was not considered possible for an illegitimate child to grow up to become a citizen with the same type of moral compass as other people. To the European society of the time, “illegitimacy was a curse [which] fostered suspicion since respectable people mistrusted children of uncertain parentage, seeing them as imposters likely to become swindlers, beggars, vagabonds, and liars.”<sup>36</sup> Not only were Europeans prone to see illegitimate children as societal problems in the present that might be a source of harm and economic decline in their area, they could

---

*Particulars connected with the Subject*, (London, England: T. Egerton, Whitehall and White and Cochrane, 1810), 8.

<sup>35</sup> Gage, *Woman, Church and State*, 498-499.

<sup>36</sup> Elaine Clark, “Mothers at Risk of Poverty in the Medieval English Countryside,” in *Poor Women and Children in the European Past*, ed. John Henderson and Richard Wall (London, England: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 1994), 145.

also be the cause of shame and other issues for a family line because their existence “defiled the blood of [their] maternal ancestors.”<sup>37</sup> Being an illegitimate child in Europe did not mean merely that the child’s parents were not married or that there might be a predisposition for the child to become an ‘unsavory’ person, it was tantamount to having a physical disfigurement that might hold the child back from reaching his or her full potential; indeed, “the disabilities of bastardy” were often put into the same category as “birth defects.” Both kinds of ‘afflictions’ were viewed by Europeans as a deserved manifestation of the causal effect of something that had transpired in a life that preceded that of the child. It was as an indication that the child’s ancestors were bad people and, therefore, the child would be as well. That is, “any deformity an infant suffered was a sign of parental guilt” and “bastardy” was deemed to be just such a “deformity.”<sup>38</sup> In some jurisdictions there was “no legal requirement” to discriminate against people born out of wedlock, yet cultural pressures based on social norms ensured that many such individuals still suffered substantial mistreatment anyway, both from the Church and the public.<sup>39</sup>

Children born to priests fared even worse in European society than children born out of wedlock to fathers with different occupations due to the more pronounced post-Trent perception that a sexually active priest was an affront to God. The children’s mothers were likewise ostracized. As had been the case in the centuries before the Council of Trent, the women were more commonly seen as the source of the problem

---

<sup>37</sup> Clark, “Mothers at Risk of Poverty in the Medieval English Countryside,” 145.

<sup>38</sup> Clark, “Mothers at Risk of Poverty in the Medieval English Countryside,” 144-145.

<sup>39</sup> Adair, “Courtship, Illegitimacy and Marriage in Early Modern England,” 223.

than the men, and as such faced wider social repercussions when they were believed to have engaged in premarital sex. The general notion was that “moral laxity tainted any children born of illicit couplings, particularly the unions of concubines and priests.”<sup>40</sup> In the post-Trent situation, any woman who lived in close proximity to members of the clergy, such as the household staff of “rural priests,” was treated with deep suspicion and as a potential source of “lechery.” Prior to the Council of Trent, it was possible and relatively acceptable for nobles to marry children of priests or de facto wed the priests themselves. In a post-Council-of-Trent context, this practice became effectively impossible as marriage to the priests or their children became legal grounds for nobles to lose their status and become commoners.<sup>41</sup> This essentially rendered it impossible for elite women to marry priests. There was no longer a practical reason for such marriages to take place due to the societal infringements and the wives and children of priests not being considered “sanctified” anymore, but even if they did marry, the elite woman would lose her noble status as a result. This would mean that even if elites continued to marry priests in the post-Council-of-Trent era, they are not relevant to the discussion of marriages between elite women and priests, since they would have inherently lost their status as a result of those relationships.

### **History of Children of Priests within Spain (Post-Council of Trent)**

Priests in Spain and territories under its dominion were not supposed to have children. On occasion this did happen, but it was not the norm, nor was it accepted. In

---

<sup>40</sup> Clark, “Mothers at Risk of Poverty in the Medieval English Countryside,” 145.

<sup>41</sup> Sir David Lyndsay, *The Historie of ane Nobil and Wailbeand Sqvyer, William Meldrum, Vmqvhylye Laird of Cleische and Bynnis*, (Edinburgh, Scotland: Be Henrie Charteris, 1594), 523.

fact, children of priests were termed “sacrilegos,” were in the same legal class as the “children of prostitutes,” and were considered just as “spurious” as children born of “incestuous” relationships.<sup>42</sup> Spain also had a separate legal framework known as “Las Siete Partidas,” which translates to “The Seven-Part Code.” The overall code of laws consisted of “182 titles comprising 2,479 laws” which were “divided into seven parts.” They were based on the earlier laws of the Eastern Roman Emperor, Justinian, and formed the basis for many of the important Spanish laws in the period. Each section, or “partida,” of the code focused on a different broad category. There were far too many overall laws from this code to mention in this thesis, so the seven *partidas* are summarized here as follows:

First *Partida*: focused on the “religious doctrines and canonical laws” that were espoused by “the Holy Catholic faith.” These gave the Church the power to enforce its laws over the people in the Spanish Empire.

Second *Partida*: related to “the peyoratives of the crown” and other nobles, military, etc. and how they were supposed to act towards the people and vice versa.

Third *Partida*: focused on the “judicial organization and rules and procedure” and how to effectively rule.

---

<sup>42</sup> William Grain, ed. and trans., *The Ley Hipotecaria of Spain, or Law on the Inscription of Titles to Immovable Property*, (London: H. Sweet Law Bookseller and Publisher, 1867), 145.



Fourth *Partida*: focused on the “relations between lord and vassal,” including but not limited to the basics of how a feudal society was supposed to function. It also put significant emphasis on laws pertaining to “family relations.”

Fifth *Partida*: related to legally binding agreements, such as “contracts,” “loans, deposit, commodatum, sales, partnerships, mortgages and pledges.”

Sixth *Partida*: dealt with issues pertaining to inheritance, such as “testaments, codicils of heirs, successions, executors, intestates and partitions.” It also included legal issues surrounding the treatment of “minors, orphans, tutorships, curators, etc.”

Seventh *Partida*: focused on “explaining the meaning of certain words and rules” as related to “criminal laws.”<sup>43</sup>

The Seven-Part Code had an important impact in history due to its assignment of people to different categories based on their civil rights or lack thereof in the Spanish legal system. This is important in discussing clerical offspring because the Seven-Part Code specifically indicated that “children of priests were required to serve as slaves in their father’s churches.” It was not merely implied that the children of priests could potentially become slaves, but it was actually “required,” which would be hard to define as anything other than extremely unfavorable circumstances. The same legal code also put children of priests in the same category as known traitors to Spain, such as

---

<sup>43</sup> Clifford Stevens Walton, *The Civil Law in Spain and Spanish-America including Cuba, Puerto Rico and Philippine Islands, and the Spanish Civil Code in force, annotated and with references to the Civil Codes of Mexico, Central and South America*, (Washington, DC: W.H. Lowdermilk, 1900), 75-77.

“Christians who provided war material to Moors.”<sup>44</sup> If the priest had children with a woman who was already a slave, the mother would be effectively confiscated by the church authorities and removed from contact with the priest. Her children were disposed of separately (in some cases “set free”) so that she would not accompany them.<sup>45</sup> The harsh treatment of children born to priests in Spanish territory was part of “canon law imposed” with the intent of serving “as a penalty for” the priest who committed the crime of having sex. The Spanish adherence to these laws predated the Council of Trent, but became more rigorously enforced in its aftermath.<sup>46</sup> These distinctions clearly indicate that the offspring of priests were not perceived well in a Spanish context. Priests held high status in Spanish society, but this did not exempt their children from being treated in the same way as children of other elites who had been born out of wedlock. This meant that they were not considered qualified for titles and other associated rights that their legitimate counterparts would have been able to hold had their genealogies been otherwise identical.<sup>47</sup>

Priests who had children generally had to keep their families secret, and there were often social and legal penalties if knowledge of their existence entered the public consciousness, the least of which would include the priest being dismissed. There are

---

<sup>44</sup> Christina Proenza-Coles, *Encyclopedia of African American History*, vol. 1, ed. Leslie M. Alexander and Walter C. Rucker, “La Siete Partidas,” (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2010), 63.; Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492-1800*, (London: Verso, 1997), 50-51.

<sup>45</sup> Henry C. Lea, *An Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1884), 568.

<sup>46</sup> Martin A. Klein, *Historical Dictionary of Slavery and Abolition*, (Lanham, Maryland: The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc., 2014), 99.

<sup>47</sup> Ann Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets: Gender, Honor, Sexuality, and Illegitimacy in Colonial Spanish America*, (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1999), 5-6.

numerous documented cases of the Inquisition pursuing legal charges against priests throughout Spain for their sexual relationships with women in the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>48</sup> In the early days of the Spanish Empire, it was actually possible for the child of a priest to inherit at least part of the father's property, but as time went on, legal policies became more stringent so that this was no longer permissible. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, for instance, there was a legal case in Brihuega, Spain in which a priest named Benito Sanz Carpintero had three children with his "housekeeper." It is important to note that this relationship began in 1565, only three years after the Council of Trent went into effect, so popular opinion and de facto legal ramifications were not as stringently aligned against priestly romances as they became at a later point in time. Even so, the relationship was initially kept secret and the priest was physically attacked by townspeople when it became publicly known. Benito Sanz Carpintero's grandchildren "received only part of the priest's legacy." This meant that they did not acquire all of the wealth and property that they would have, had Benito had a different occupation. Due to the Council of Trent's mandate, Benito Carpintero's grandchildren might not have received any compensation at all. The fact that they received some was due to the somewhat laxer attitudes of the time which, nevertheless, were against the existence of clerical offspring (hence their not receiving everything).<sup>49</sup> Still, it is important to note that

---

<sup>48</sup> Anthony Stockwell, *'A Corrupt Tree: An Encyclopedia of Crimes committed by the Church of Rome against Humanity and the Human Spirit*, vol. 1, (Bloomington, Indiana: Xlibris LLC, 2013), 359.; Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision*, (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2014), 337.

<sup>49</sup> Ida Altman, *Transatlantic Ties in the Spanish Empire: Brihuega, Spain & Puebla, Mexico, 1560-1620*. (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2000), 116-117.

it was at times possible for the children of priests to have some legal rights in Spain post-Council of Trent, albeit barely.

### **History of Children of Priests in Post-Trent Spanish Empire (non-Philippines)**

There were close ties between the expansion and maintenance of the Spanish Empire and the Catholic religion. Priests held prominent roles throughout Spanish-held territories and were very important in the development of Hispanized societies and the continuation and furtherance of Spanish rule.<sup>50</sup> The Philippines was not unique in having Spanish priests serve as its administrators, but aspects of the priests' social lives varied considerably when comparing the Spanish Philippines to most of the Empire (especially in relation to children). In Spanish California, for instance, sexual "relations outside of marriage were outlawed and punishable," with the result that "illegitimate births were unusual."<sup>51</sup> These interactions were strictly monitored by colonial authorities to the extent that unmarried men and women in and around missions were effectively segregated with the express intent of preventing what the Church considered immoral relationships from developing. This meant that "unmarried females slept in a firmly locked dormitory" and they could not easily leave without being accompanied by a "trusted man" who would act as "a chaperone". As a result, it was considerably more difficult for priests (or any men, except perhaps the chaperones) to have sexual

---

<sup>50</sup> William L. Merrill, "Conversion and Colonialism in Northern Mexico: The Tarahumara Response to the Jesuit Mission Program, 1601-1767," in *Conversion to Christianity: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives on a Great Transformation*, ed. Robert W. Hefner (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1993), 151.

<sup>51</sup> Alison Lake, *Colonial Rosary: The Spanish and Indian Missions of California*, (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2006), 82.

relationships with unmarried women.<sup>52</sup> Since priests were not permitted to marry at all, this essentially barred them from having children. Because the concept of having an illegitimate child was so heavily reviled, in the rare event that a priest did produce offspring, it is unlikely that he or she would have been viewed in anything less than a very negative light.

In Mexico and Peru, the conquistadors were the first Spanish to arrive, and as such, they initially held control, but they lost it to the priests shortly after the colonial administrations began. The priests had virtually complete control over Spain's colonies in the Americas up until they were "caught...completely by surprise" by a native revolt in 1680 that led to "the slaughter of many friars." After that, the Spanish government deemed the priests unworthy and regained control of its colonies to an extent that did not similarly occur in the Philippines.<sup>53</sup> Due in part to this loss of power, priests in colonial Mexico were less able than their counterparts in the Philippines to maintain open familial relationships with women and any resulting children. Priests in Mexico did have "mistresses," but they were not permitted to acknowledge them publicly. Children of priests had "an uphill [legal] battle" if they tried to gain the enhanced civil rights that offspring of married parents enjoyed as a matter of course because the government had "little tolerance" for their existence.<sup>54</sup> In addition to not being treated fairly in practical matters of everyday life (such as work and school), children of priests and their mothers

---

<sup>52</sup> Lake, *Colonial Rosary*, 83-84.

<sup>53</sup> Rebecca M. Seaman, ed., *Conflict in the Early Americas: An Encyclopedia of the Spanish Empire's Aztec, Incan, and Mayan Conquests*, (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2013), 145-146.

<sup>54</sup> Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets*, 115-116.

were considered very damaging to the women's "family reputation[s]," in a similar manner to the ways in which children of prostitutes were viewed. As in such instances, the men responsible for fathering the offspring were seen as immoral, but it was the women who represented the larger stain on their families' honor. Non-priests who had children out of wedlock would often be in danger of either physical attack or substantial social pressure from the "father or brothers" of the children's mothers who wished to repair their damaged honor through the marriage of their unwed female relatives.<sup>55</sup> Since priests could not legally marry, no amount of threats could fix the damage done to the reputations of the people involved or the legal standing of the children, and the woman would be irredeemable in the eyes of society and government. This situation was in the same category of similarly unsalvageable circumstances resulting from children born as the result of either bigamy, incest, or one parent dying before the planned marriage could take place, which were relatively common problems in Spanish Mexico.<sup>56</sup>

Sometimes the only way families of priests could shed the stigma of their existence was by moving to a different geographic location where no one knew them and establishing themselves under false pretenses. In Mexico one child of a priest, Juan Joseph Rueda de Aguirre, and his mother, Teresa, provide a good example of a priest's family which was able to rise above society's place for it (albeit without the priest) and become reasonably well-to-do. Teresa had a child with an abbot who could

---

<sup>55</sup> Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets*, 97.

<sup>56</sup> Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets*, 101-102, 161.

not marry because of his position in the church. In her own community, Celaya (which is in the modern Mexican state Guanajuato), she and her child were stigmatized for their association with the priest and, as a result, were barred from gainful employment and an education. They moved to Mexico City and where Teresa pretended to be a widow and led her son to believe that this was the case.

As a result, Juan was able to attend and graduate from law school and become a prominent lawyer, which as a child of a priest was completely illegal. He was only able to do so because he unknowingly hid his priestly heritage from the school when he was admitted. An additional layer of complication for children of unmarried parents in Spanish Mexico was that to get married they had to first “prove [their] legitimacy and racial purity.” This tended to create a vicious cycle since obviously illegitimate children would not be able to prove the legitimacy that they did not have. Similarly, children who either did not know or did not have well-documented genealogies or did not meet the Spanish government’s definition of “racial purity” would also face trouble when trying to marry. This was what finally caught up with the 18<sup>th</sup>-century lawyer, Juan. When he tried to get married when he was in his 30s, it became clear that he was illegitimate and, as a result, not only his marriage, but his entire working and academic careers were placed in jeopardy.<sup>57</sup>

---

<sup>57</sup> Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets*, 151-153.

### **Children of Priests Throughout the World (19<sup>th</sup>-century non-Philippine context)**

In 19<sup>th</sup>-century Europe, children of priests were by definition illegitimate because their fathers were not allowed to legally marry. There was, therefore, a very intimate connection between children of priests and those born out of wedlock whose fathers held other occupations, since the general public viewed them as part of the same social class. Children born out of wedlock in that era were treated and perceived in a very negative light. The Church and, to a large extent, broader society viewed illegitimate children of any sort (regardless of their parents' occupations) as clear indications of "moral decay."<sup>58</sup> Due to pressure within their communities, it was very difficult for a mother to baptize her child if she was not married to the father. In a documentary sense, baptisms functioned in a similar way to modern birth certificates because the parents of the child were listed by name on the record. Men could not be listed as fathers unless they specifically chose to "acknowledge paternity." This meant that women who had children out of wedlock were effectively required to announce their 'sin' to the world in order to baptize their children, which in turn guaranteed themselves and their children a lifetime of stigma (if by any chance they had managed to avoid notice until that point).<sup>59</sup>

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century and earlier, baptisms were a fundamental religious requirement for Catholics. Being baptized meant that it became possible for a person to enter heaven after death. Dying without first being baptized meant that the person

---

<sup>58</sup> William David Bowman, *Priest and Parish in Vienna, 1780-1880*, Studies in Central European Histories, (Boston, Massachusetts: Humanities Press, Inc., 1999), 182.

<sup>59</sup> Bowman, *Priest and Parish in Vienna, 1780-1880*, 182.



would either go to hell or would end up trapped forever in limbo, which was in between the two standard post-death realms. Older people (non-infants) were assumed to have committed sins at some point in their lives, and as a result they would end up in hell if they were not baptized. It was assumed that infants could not have committed sin during their short and innocuous lives so they would not go to hell, but would still be sent to limbo in the event that they were not baptized prior to death.<sup>60</sup> Infant mortality was very high prior to the global improvements in sanitation and medicine in the 20<sup>th</sup> century so it was a very serious concern for parents that their children might end up eternally trapped in limbo if they did not act quickly to have them baptized.<sup>61</sup> As a result, many mothers of illegitimate children elected to use some illicit means of covering up the illegitimacy, such as “register[ing the baptisms] under a false name,” but these could lead to significant legal problems.<sup>62</sup> The Church often refused outright to allow illegitimate children to be baptized on the grounds that they were a “mockery” to others who hoped to “lead a godly and a Christian life” and due to the “wickedness of the parents” of the child for the “notorious vice” of not being married at the birth of their offspring. This was an issue for both Catholic and Protestant congregations, so in many cases there was nowhere for parents with illegitimate offspring to turn.<sup>63</sup>

---

<sup>60</sup> Earl D. Radmacher, *Salvation*, (Nashville, Tennessee: Thomas Nelson, 2000), 235.; Charles Smith, *An Inquiry into the Catholic Truths Hidden under Certain Articles of the Creed of the Church of Rome: Original Sin and Justification*, vol 2, (London: John W. Parker, 1850),134.

<sup>61</sup> James F. Jekel, David L. Katz, and Joann G. Elmore, *Epidemiology, Biostatistics, and Preventative Medicine*, (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Saunders Elsevier, 2007), 11.

<sup>62</sup> Bowman, *Priest and Parish in Vienna, 1780-1880*,182.

<sup>63</sup> S, “On Administering Baptism to Illegitimate Children,” in *The Christian Observer*, vol. 33, ed., Samuel Charles Wilks (London: J. Hatchard and Son, 1833), 701-703.

Many women chose not to go through with baptisms entirely in an effort to escape the inevitable stigma that would arise from being publicly perceived as a “loose woman” of low moral character with a child who was predestined to be just as unsavory. Failure to baptize a child led to further cultural troubles as it was believed that an individual who had not gone through the procedure would go to hell. Most women would not want to marry a prospective life partner who would be tainted during life and was inherently destined to reside on a different plane after death.

In addition to spiritual issues, in a practical sense, illegitimate children were generally associated with being economically disadvantaged. A recurrent theme in literature from the 19<sup>th</sup> century that discusses illegitimate children is the reference to them as “paupers” or some similar designation.<sup>64</sup> This is true not just in Europe, but also in many other parts of the world during the same period, including, but not limited to, the United States.<sup>65</sup> In some places it was possible for children to become legitimate later if their parents eventually married, although this would not have been the case for children of priests, since the latter were forbidden from marriage.<sup>66</sup> Since children born out of wedlock were often prohibited from inheriting property from their parents even

---

<sup>64</sup> J.W. Pringle and Burke, “Munster: City of Cork,” in *Third Report of the Commissioners for Inquiring into the Condition of the Poorer Classes in Ireland*, ed. Rd Dublin, et al (London: W. Clowes and Sons, 1836), 35.

<sup>65</sup> Felicity Crowe, Emily Hill, and Ben Hollingum, ed., *Sex and Society*, vol. 2, (Tarrytown, New York: Marshall Cavendish Corporation, 2010), 399.

<sup>66</sup> Joseph McKenna, William B. Gilbert, and Thomas P. Hawley, “Hatch et al. v. Ferguson et al. (Circuit Court of Appeals, Ninth Circuit. May 6, 1895). No. 167,” in *The Federal Reporter: Cases Argued and Determined in the Circuit Courts of Appeals and Circuit and District Courts of the United States*, vol. 68. ed. Robert Desty, James Wells Goodwin, and Peyton Boyle (St. Paul, Minnesota: West Publishing Co., 1895), 49.; Francis Liber, Edward Wigglesworth, and Thomas Gamaliel Bradford, ed., *Encyclopedia Americana: A Popular Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, Literature, History, Politics, and Biography*, vol. 1, (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Thomas, Cowperthwait, & Co., 1840), 605-606.

when it was specifically left to them in wills and when other close heirs did not exist, poverty was a likely result in most cases.<sup>67</sup> Sometimes it was not just the children of priests and their mothers who had trouble as a result of their illegitimate association. Priests who had children faced problems alongside their illicit families in some European contexts. A priest in Scotland, for example, “would be instantly dismissed and expelled” from his position if he were “found to be keeping a mistress.”<sup>68</sup>

### **History of Clerical Celibacy in the Philippines**

Priests were an integral part of colonialism from the very beginning of the Spanish presence in the Philippines. Priests had children with Filipino women during a substantial part of the colonial period, to the extent that doing so became culturally acceptable in the Spanish Philippines.<sup>69</sup> It is unclear at what point in the Spanish Era, sexual activity involving priests became a socially acceptable and common practice. Pinpointing the time at which the priests in the Philippines began to stray from celibacy, or if there ever existed a time at which Catholic clergy in the region refrained from sexual activity, goes beyond the scope of this thesis. It is still important to mention the history of priests in the Philippines and some of the factors that may have contributed to the cultural differences regarding clerical celibacy in the colony because these circumstances are important for understanding the mindset held by many people in Pampanga during the 21<sup>st</sup> century, which affected their attitude towards the Nepomucenos’ priestly descent (as mentioned in their books). The following paragraph

---

<sup>67</sup> McKenna, “Hatch et al. v. Ferguson et al.” 49.

<sup>68</sup> Raquel Reyes, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, 117.

<sup>69</sup> Raquel Reyes, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, 117.

establishes one possible explanation for the Kapampangan acceptance of the Nepomucenos' priestly descent based on the circumstantial evidence of timing, and should be considered a part of the material that could be researched in more detail at a later time (see Appendix D for additional information).

The laxity of the priests in upholding celibacy may have been due in part to the timing of the colony's beginning and the relative distance between the Philippines and Europe. The expedition that left to colonize the Philippines departed Mexico in 1564, a mere two years after the Council of Trent went into effect (which imposed the ban on clerical sexual relations with women, including marriage).<sup>70</sup> As was mentioned earlier, during the period immediately after the Council of Trent, the new restrictions on clerical sex were only sporadically enforced. Many priests in Europe were already married at the time the ban went into effect and did not immediately cease to have sexual relations with their wives.<sup>71</sup> It was not until the 17<sup>th</sup> century that the Council of Trent's ban on priests having sex was enforced to any significant extent within Europe itself. In 1564 it would not have been unusual for the priests departing Mexico for the Philippines to have continued to engage in sexual relations. The distance from Europe to Mexico and from there to the Philippines (which at that early time was administered through Mexico) would certainly not have helped the European church authorities enforce the Council of Trent's rules to Spain's far flung colonies.

---

<sup>70</sup>David Prescott Barrows, *A History of the Philippines*, (New York: American Book Company, 1905), 126.; Jane Anderson, *Priests in Love: Roman Catholic Clergy and Their Intimate Relationships*, (New York: Continuum, 2005), 98.

<sup>71</sup> Gage, *Woman, Church and State*, 82-87.

The idea that priests could have sexual relationships with Filipino women and that these relationships were not shameful may have been introduced during this early period and, if so, would have become well-established by priests who served in the Philippines for decades. This would have explained the highly-entrenched nature of the cultural attitudes that were permissive of clerical sex in the Philippines during the 1800s. The status quo of priests having children with Filipino women and of this being perceived in a positive light by the society in the Philippines continued unabated until a series of social changes during the mid- to late 19<sup>th</sup> century eventually led to a major shift in social attitudes.

Prior to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Spanish priests controlled the flow of information within the Philippines. Education was not common for the lower socio-economic classes.<sup>72</sup> It also tended to be slanted in a way that was unfavorable towards the very Filipinos being taught.<sup>73</sup> The elites attended schools that were directly taught by the Spanish priests and followed curricula that were approved by the Church. Due to the distance and relative isolation, it was very unusual for outside ideas to arrive in the Philippines, and in order to reach the Filipino people, they had to be vetted by the Spanish priests, who routinely “excluded scientific, technical and practical subjects from the curriculum” and “banned the works of countless European thinkers and novelists.”<sup>74</sup>

---

<sup>72</sup> Raquel Reyes, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, 129; James A. LeRoy, “The Friars in the Philippines,” *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 18, December 1903, 662, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2140780> (accessed August 17, 2016).

<sup>73</sup> Anacoreta P. Purino, *Rizal, the Greatest Filipino Hero*, (Manila, Philippines: Rex Book Store, Inc., 2008), 3-4; Joseph P. McCallus, *The MacArthur Highway and other Relics of American Empire in the Philippines*, (Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 2010), 73.

<sup>74</sup> Raquel Reyes, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, 120, 134.

This allowed the Spanish priests to maintain the cultural attitudes that they wished, such as the idea that it was socially acceptable for women to have sexual relationships with Catholic clergy.<sup>75</sup> The idea of “upward social mobility” for a woman through marriage (for increased social status) was already well-established in the Philippines.<sup>76</sup> A woman having a relationship with a priest made sense because it was the same concept of marrying a higher-ranked person in order to enhance one’s social standing. Since the Spanish chose not to propagate the idea that women having sexual relationships with priests was shameful, there were no reasons for Filipinos to view having relationships with priests differently from having relationships with men from their own culture.

It was very common for priests to have children in the Philippines with local women. They did so openly to the extent that the children of priests and their mothers were “a regular fixture of colonial life” in the Philippines. Several Filipinos writing in the mid- to late 19<sup>th</sup> century mention the offspring of Spanish priests as routine aspects of their lives. Jose Rizal, who would become the Philippines’ national hero, “casually recounted” his interactions with people who were “the fruits of friar love affairs,” and did not seem (at that time) to find anything untoward about it. Another *ilustrado* (19<sup>th</sup>-century educated upper-middle-class/elite Filipino), Felipe Buencamino, stated that “it was such a common thing to see children of friars...that the women who were

---

<sup>75</sup> Raquel Reyes, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, 142.; United States Government, “Testimony Taken by the Philippine Commission Relating to Religious Orders,” in *Lands Held for Ecclesiastical or Religious Uses in the Philippine Islands, Etc.*, 56th Congress, Second Session, Document No. 190, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1901), 140.

<sup>76</sup> Fenella Cannell, *Power and Intimacy in the Christian Philippines*, (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 57, 70.; Charles S. Longacre, “Religious Liberty, Free Speech, a Free Press, and No Public Money for Sectarian Institutions in the Philippines,” *Liberty: A Magazine of Religious Freedom*, vol. 9, no. 6, (1916), 189-190.

mistresses of friars really felt great pride in it [and] had no compunction in speaking of it.”<sup>77</sup> Europeans not affiliated with the Spanish who visited the Philippines, writing in the same period, were “shocked” by the “moral laxity” of the clergy’s family lives, since the priests’ conduct with women and their resulting children was so completely alien when compared with the standards of Europe.<sup>78</sup> So great was the difference between the Philippines and Europe that it was considered unusual, in the Philippines of the period, for there to be “a single member of the [Spanish] religious orders who had not violated the vow of celibacy.”<sup>79</sup>

During the late 19<sup>th</sup> century it became increasingly fashionable for men from the elite class of Filipinos, known as *ilustrados*, to study abroad in Europe.<sup>80</sup> As established earlier in this chapter, the Europeans of the 19<sup>th</sup> century had very negative views of sexual relationships between women and priests and any children that resulted from such unions were treated harshly. In addition to the very unsympathetic perceptions European Catholics held towards priests who had families, the *ilustrados* also faced exposure to the generally unfavorable views towards the Catholic clergy that members of other denominations, such as Protestantism, held throughout Western civilization. Adverse ideas towards priests having families were extremely common in Europe but were virtually unheard of in the Philippines.<sup>81</sup> The exposure to these new ideas,

---

<sup>77</sup> Gleek., “The ‘Immorality’ of the Friars,” 96.

<sup>78</sup> Raquel Reyes, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, 117.

<sup>79</sup> Raquel Reyes, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, 118.; Longacre, “Religious Liberty”, 189-190.

<sup>80</sup> Paul A. Kramer, “Race, Empire, and Transnational History,” in *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*, ed. Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano, (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 202.

<sup>81</sup> Raquel Reyes, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, 121.

combined with a greater understanding of the Philippines' place in the world, led to a rapid decline in the support for the Spanish colonial regime among elite Filipinos. Once they returned home, the *ilustrados* spread their negative perceptions of the Spanish priests (not only in relation to having families with Filipino women) to many other people throughout the colony.<sup>82</sup> Rizal's novels *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*, which portrayed the negative aspects of Spanish priests' relationships with women and their resulting children in the Philippines (through the experience of the character Maria Clara in regard to a priest who was her biological father and with a second priest who romantically pursued her against her wishes), embodied the *ilustrados*' European anti-clerical ideas that ultimately tainted many Filipinos' perceptions of the colonial regime.<sup>83</sup>

The negative perceptions of Spanish priests, which the *ilustrados* brought back from Europe, extended beyond the latter's distaste for clerical relationships with women. Although the idea of priests having families was a major component of the internal discord in the late Spanish Philippines, negative ideas towards other aspects of the colonial regime (such as the fact that Filipinos were unique among Spain's subjects in the sense that they "were denied representation in the metropolitan legislature" and that priests "exploited for their own profit the gullibility of the faithful)" also spread.<sup>84</sup> These were spurred, in part, because of the priests' increasing loss of control of the flow of information, due to the influx of knowledge and ideas from Europe. Prominent

---

<sup>82</sup> Raquel Reyes, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, 123.; Kramer, "Race, Empire, and Transnational History," 202-203.

<sup>83</sup> Raquel Reyes, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, 124-126.

<sup>84</sup> Kramer, "Race, Empire, and Transnational History," 202.; Raquel Reyes, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, 120.



rebellions, such as that of Cavite Mutiny in 1872 (and the execution of Jose Burgos and two other prominent native clergy by the Spanish authorities that followed), were earlier events that also helped solidify the negative perceptions that the *ilustrados* had towards the Spanish priests in the Philippines. The combination of these negative events involving Spanish priests in the Philippines that were closer to home for the *ilustrados*, together with the academic ideas that they had picked up from Europe, helped fan the flames of discontent among the lower classes that did not have access to the same foreign schools as the *ilustrados*.<sup>85</sup> This culminated in the Katipunan revolt and the formation of a rebel government in 1896, which together with the American invasion, drove the Spanish from power in the 1890s and ended the political domination of the priesthood in the Philippines.

### **Children of Priests outside the Philippines (20<sup>th</sup>-century context)**

Children with priests as biological fathers continued to be viewed with contempt in many countries in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Despite several attempts by priests and their supporters to persuade the pope to change the rules so that priests could marry, Catholicism did not bend in its disapproval for relationships between women and members of its clergy (except for instances in which men who had already held positions in other denominations of Christianity converted to Catholicism).<sup>86</sup>

Nevertheless, due to technology and the effects of globalization, the media was able to

---

<sup>85</sup> Raquel Reyes, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, 118.; Anthony Reid, *A History of Southeast Asia: Critical Crossroads*, (Chichester, England: John Wiley & Sons, 2015), 296.

<sup>86</sup> Katharine Saunders, "How I met your Father: Married Episcopalians becoming Catholic Priests," *U.S. Catholic*, vol. 77, no. 8, August 2012, [www.uscatholic.org/church/2012/06/how-i-met-your-father-married-episcopalians-becoming-catholic-priests](http://www.uscatholic.org/church/2012/06/how-i-met-your-father-married-episcopalians-becoming-catholic-priests) (accessed August 17, 2016).

highlight the issue in ways that it could not have done in previous centuries. This served to spread the idea of priests having children and promote the cause in its favor to an extent that would likely not otherwise have been the case. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs), such as the Coalition of Married Priests, rose as open advocates of the practice of Catholic priests marrying women. According to one of their studies, in the 1990s there were approximately 100,000 married Catholic priests throughout the world, whereas another indicated that 36% of the clergy were sexually active.<sup>87</sup> This was out of a total of about 403,000 priests worldwide.<sup>88</sup> While this is a substantial number of priests who openly flouted their religion's ban on the practice, it was still far from the majority of the members of the Catholic clergy who were alive at that time. While these numbers may seem significant, due to the cultural values of church authorities and society, members of the clergy having sexual relations was still very negatively perceived, and those who were caught would lose their positions, especially if the information became public knowledge.

There have been cases where the sexual activity of priests was well known among church authorities but instead of firing the errant priests, they covered it up to prevent the public from learning the truth. An example of this was when the Catholic Church in Australia was found to be concealing information regarding both the sexual and criminal activity of its clergy during the 1980s and 1990s in order to avoid harming

---

<sup>87</sup> Robert E. Johnson, ed., "Should Priests be Allowed to Marry?" *JET*, August 27, 1990, vol. 78, no. 20. 13.

<sup>88</sup> Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate, "World Data over Time," <http://cara.georgetown.edu/frequently-requested-church-statistics/> (accessed August 02, 2015).

its public image.<sup>89</sup> There were also documented instances of similar suppression of information throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century in America, Britain, Ireland, Germany, France, Italy, and Austria. The common elements of these cases were that priests would impregnate women and the Church would then pressure the mothers into either aborting the fetuses or putting the resulting infants up for adoption. If the women refused and raised the children themselves, the Catholic Church would pay them “hush money” to keep the priests’ paternity confidential, and the women would be compelled to “sign pledges” indicating that they would keep the information to themselves. This was all aimed at preserving the public image of the Church and maintaining the idea that Catholic priests were celibate.<sup>90</sup>

In a way, priests who had relationships with women were accepted, since the Church continued to employ them, but the fact that it was considered necessary to conceal these liaisons from the populace clearly demonstrates that it was not considered appropriate behavior and, more particularly, any disclosure of such relationships was regarded as material for a scandal. Both priests and higher ranking church officials were affected by these regulations. An example of a 20<sup>th</sup> century occurrence was when a Catholic archbishop in the United States, Eugene Marino, resigned amid scandal when it became publicly known in 1990 that he had “secretly married” a female church official.<sup>91</sup> Another example was when a priest, Henry

---

<sup>89</sup> Broken Rites Australia, “This ‘Celibate’ Priest Fathered Two Children, his Colleagues say,” <http://www.brokenrites.org.au/drupal/node/224> (accessed August 17, 2016).

<sup>90</sup> James C. Bennett, “Children Fathered by Fathers to sue Church,” *The Times of India*, April 19, 2010, <http://www.freerepublic.com/focus/f-news/2498009/posts> (accessed August 17, 2016).

<sup>91</sup> Johnson, “Should Priests be Allowed to Marry?,” 12, 14.

Willenborg, twice impregnated a married woman whom he had met in 1983 when she and her husband went to him “for marriage counseling.”<sup>92</sup> This resulted in one miscarriage and the birth of a son. The Catholic Church gave the woman regular payments in order to keep her quiet. This worked for 22 years, but eventually the scandal emerged into the public view and the priest was almost immediately fired. Willenborg’s former lover wanted the church to pay for her son’s medical expenses. When they refused, she told the media about the affair. Another former lover of the priest subsequently came to public knowledge, which did not help the priest’s case. *The New York Times* ran a story on the priest’s liaisons. The church responded by firing Willenborg.<sup>93</sup>

In Ireland, it became publicly known in 1992 that a bishop, Eamon Casey, had a son out of wedlock.<sup>94</sup> Casey and his lover had kept their relationship secret for more than a decade before they were discovered, and shortly thereafter he lost his job.<sup>95</sup> In each case, the clergy member’s sexual relationship and resulting children were intentionally hidden and were the subject of a significant degree of scandal when they became publicly known. Much of the controversy was due to the fact that Catholic clergy are supposed to remain celibate, although in the case of Eamon Casey, he had also embezzled a substantial amount of money from church funds for the upkeep of his

---

<sup>92</sup> Bennett, “Children Fathered by Fathers to sue Church.”

<sup>93</sup> BishopAccountability.org, Inc., “Rev. Henry V. Willenborg, o.f.m.,” [http://www.bishopaccountability.org/assign/Willenborg\\_Henry\\_V\\_ofm.htm](http://www.bishopaccountability.org/assign/Willenborg_Henry_V_ofm.htm) (accessed August 17, 2016).

<sup>94</sup> Tom Peterkin, “500 Irish Priests ‘having regular sex with women,” *The Telegraph*, January 21, 2006, [www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/ireland/1508431/500-Irish-priests-having-regular-sex-with-women.html](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/ireland/1508431/500-Irish-priests-having-regular-sex-with-women.html) (accessed August 17, 2016).

<sup>95</sup> Peterkin, “500 Irish Priests ‘having regular sex with women.”; Baylor University School of Social Work, “The Silent Majority.”

secret family.<sup>96</sup> The lengths gone to conceal the church officials' relationships (and resulting children) and the harsh penalties in instances where these became public knowledge indicate that the cultural values of most Catholics in the 20<sup>th</sup> century still held a significant degree of disapproval for the concept of a non-celibate priesthood.

### **Children born out of wedlock (20<sup>th</sup>-century non-Philippine context)**

Social conditions for children without married parents remained problematic throughout much of the world during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, although these issues grew steadily less prevalent in many areas. In Western countries, such as the United States, there was adverse sentiment associated with being a 'bastard' child, especially during the earlier part of the century. People born of such relationships were the subjects of ridicule, and their parents (especially their mothers) were generally considered immoral.<sup>97</sup> Being born to unwed parents was strongly associated with poverty.<sup>98</sup> This was due in large part to the lack of legally required child support by fathers to children born to women whom they had not married, and the difficulty for children born out of wedlock to inherit property. While there were certainly exceptions, the common differences in living conditions between children born into wedded versus unwedded

---

<sup>96</sup> Peterkin, "500 Irish Priests 'having regular sex with women.'"

<sup>97</sup> Peter Laslett, "The Bastardy Prone Sub-Society," in *Bastardy and its Comparative History: Studies in the History of Illegitimacy and Marital Nonconformism in Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, North America, Jamaica and Japan*, ed., Peter Laslett, Karla Oosterveen, and Richard M. Smith, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1980), 227.

<sup>98</sup> Regina G. Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls: Unmarried Mothers and the Professionalization of Social Work 1890-1945*, (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1993), 8.

households were so staggering that in 1918, illegitimate children born in Europe had a 50% higher chance of dying in early childhood than their legitimate counterparts.<sup>99</sup>

Historically, the negative perception of children born out of wedlock was most directly affiliated with religion and related cultural attributes that forbade premarital sex and encouraged married family units.<sup>100</sup> The issue became more complex due to the efforts of governments to improve public health in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. In the United States and Europe, governments made efforts to curb the high child mortality rates. Since children born to unwed parents died statistically significantly more often than others, illegitimate births were frequently perceived as a contributory factor of the problem. This led to widespread condemnation of unwed mothers in a strictly non-religious sense, as they were seen as the reason for the death of their children, as well as being a drag on the economy since the state often helped pay for their offspring's upkeep. In some countries, such as Norway (known today for its equitable gender policies), women who were not married to their children's fathers at one time faced "criminal persecution," in a similar sense that parents accused of child abuse would face legal action in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>101</sup> Nevertheless, the same country granted children "the

---

<sup>99</sup> Emma O. Lundberg and Katharine F. Lenroot, "Illegitimacy as a Child Welfare Problem: A Brief Treatment of the Prevalence and Significance of Birth out of Wedlock, the Child's Status and the State's Responsibility for Care and Protection," in *United States Children's Bureau Publications; Dependent, Defective, and Delinquent Classes Series*, no. 8-12, (1920): 28-30.

<sup>100</sup> Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls*, 13-15.

<sup>101</sup> Astri Andresen, *Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood in History and Society*, "Bastardy," (New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 2004), <http://www.faqs.org/childhood/Ar-Bo/Bastardy.htm> (accessed August 17, 2016).

right to inheritance and name after the father” in 1915.<sup>102</sup> It was the first Western country to do so at a national level.

Gradually, other European countries passed similar laws which helped equalize the legal rights of extra-marital children and, in time, reduced the social stigmas as well, although this did not become widespread until the 1970s.<sup>103</sup> Some countries, such as the United Kingdom and Ireland, did not entirely change their policies during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but passed intermediary laws which caused children born from certain kinds of relationships, such as parents who were not married at the time of birth but became married later, to be considered legally legitimate. This granted a larger proportion of the population the right of paternal inheritance and child support and, to an extent, also led to less social stigma, but it did not help people born from relationships that did not meet the new legal definition.<sup>104</sup>

In the United States, children born out of wedlock and their mothers faced deep social stigma and legal issues until late in the century. In 1968, the constitutionality of extra-marital children’s legal repression was challenged in the Supreme Court. This resulted in the previous discriminatory laws being overturned, so that children became legally indistinguishable based on their parents’ marital status.<sup>105</sup> At the time, only 8.3%

---

<sup>102</sup> Andresen, “Bastardy.”; Lundberg and Lenroot, “Illegitimacy as a Child Welfare Problem,” 29.

<sup>103</sup> Christa Hammerle, “Unmarried Fathers in the Austrian Legal Code and Popular Autobiography in the Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century,” in *Family History Revisited: Comparative Perspectives* ed. Richard Wall, Tamara K. Hareven, Josef Ehmer, and Markus Cerman, (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2001), 166.

<sup>104</sup> United Kingdom Visas and Immigration, *Legitimacy*, (London, 2007), L1-L5, [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/268014/legitimacy.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/268014/legitimacy.pdf) (accessed August 17, 2016).

<sup>105</sup> Joyce Appleby, Eileen K. Cheng, and Joanne L. Goodwin, ed., *Encyclopedia of Women in American History*, “Child Support,” (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2002), 567.

of children in the United States were born out of wedlock. That number increased substantially as time went on, and the practice became more socially acceptable once the negative legal ramifications were removed from the equation. These changes were so significant that by 2007 the rate of children born out of wedlock in the United States was up to 40%.<sup>106</sup>

### **Children of Priests in the Philippines (late Spanish period to 20<sup>th</sup> century)**

The American colonial period saw further degradation of the affinity for priests having children throughout much of the Philippines. As demonstrated earlier in this chapter, the concept of a priest having a sexual relationship with a woman was very much in opposition to the cultural values of Americans at that time, which was predominantly Protestant and very opposed to premarital sex and resulting children. Catholic priests also had a poor public image in the United States due to the dominance of Protestantism there and because of a history of friction between the two denominations.<sup>107</sup> The American colonial administrators viewed the families of priests in the Philippines in very unfavorable terms. Several books were written by people involved in the occupation of the Philippines (within the two decades following the invasion), which highlighted the high incidence of priests having children in the

---

<sup>106</sup> Stephanie J. Ventura, "Changing Patterns of Nonmarital Childbearing in the United States," NCHS Data Brief, United States Department of Health and Human Services, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Center for Health Statistics, no. 18, (May 2009), [www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/databriefs/db18.htm](http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/databriefs/db18.htm) (accessed August 17, 2016).

<sup>107</sup> John Wolffe, *Religion in History: Conflict, Conversion and Coexistence*, (New York: Palgrave, 2004), 119.



Philippines and showed the Americans' discomfort with the practice.<sup>108</sup> There are several examples of this; for instance, the United States War Department published a series of interviews in which American officials, such as William Howard Taft, as president of the Philippine commission, interviewed Spanish priests and Filipinos alike. They asked a series of questions about the conduct of the priests in the Philippines, and highlighted the "immorality among the priests" and the extent to which this contributed to the number of priestly offspring in the islands and was responsible for the 1896 revolt.<sup>109</sup> A further example was that of E.J. Vattman. Vattman was a Catholic chaplain from the United States. Then President Theodore Roosevelt sent him to the Philippines in order to investigate the veracity of the widespread reports regarding "immorality on the part of the Catholic friars in the Philippines." Vattman's report was very negative and was published and/or mentioned in several additional books thereafter, as shown in this excerpt from a book about a memoir by former White House aide from the period, Herman Kohlstaat:

At Kohlstaat's suggestion, Roosevelt called on Father Vattman, Catholic chaplain in the U.S. army, to make an investigation. On orders issued by Secretary of War Root, Father Vattman spent three months in the Philippines, returning with what amounted to dynamite in a small notebook. Kohlstaat wrote that Vattman came into my office and showed me a little memo book giving details of towns he had visited and the dates. He told me he did not know there was so much

---

<sup>108</sup> John Foreman, *The Philippine Islands: A Political, Geographical, Ethnographical, Social and Commercial History of the Philippine Archipelago embracing the Whole Period of Spanish Rule with an Account of the Succeeding American Insular Government*, (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., 1906), 202-203.; United States Government, "Testimony Taken by the Philippine Commission Relating to Religious Orders," 140, 146-147.; Longacre, "Religious Liberty", 189-190; Marshall Everett, *History of the Philippines and the Life and Achievements of Admiral George Dewey*, (Chicago: J.S. Ziegler & Company, 1899), 183-184.

<sup>109</sup> United States Government, "Testimony Taken by the Philippine Commission Relating to Religious Orders," 58, 68.

wickedness in the world as was practiced by the Spanish friars. He said they kept from two to four women apiece in their parish houses and one friar with whom he stopped several days became very friendly and knowing the captain was an army man and 'hail-fellow-well-met' suggested that if he saw any woman in the congregation that pleased his fancy, he would send her to his room....The chaplain next related his experiences to Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore. The Cardinal, thunder-struck, asked him to return two weeks later to repeat his story to the trustees of Catholic University of Washington, D.C. On that occasion, after Father Vattman had been cross-questioned for two hours, he was urged to inform the pope...With Kohlstaad's financial assistance, Father Vattman proceeded to Rome and made his report to Pope Leo on May 30, 1903.<sup>110</sup>

One of the most profound changes to the perceptions of priests in the Philippines during the American colonial period was brought about as a result of the new public education system.<sup>111</sup> A report by the United States government from 1901 about the state of education in the Philippines under the Spanish system stated that it "might be compared to American systems of one hundred years ago," meaning the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. This was in terms of the quality and type of information taught, especially the fact that the Spanish actively promoted Catholicism in their schools and the early 19<sup>th</sup> century American schools, likewise, taught religion in a way that stressed the validity of a specific denomination. Prior to the American schools becoming publicly funded, many were also administered through the church, which was very similar to the situation in the Philippines.<sup>112</sup> Filipino children attended schools in much greater numbers than they had done under the Spanish, and people from many social classes were able to

---

<sup>110</sup> Gleek, "The 'Immorality' of the Friars," 96-97.

<sup>111</sup> Ramon Stephen B. Aguilos, "Church Realities in the Philippines: 1900-1965," *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia*, issue 8, (1999), 205-206, <http://dialnet.unirioja.es/descarga/articulo/233617.pdf> (accessed August 17, 2016).

<sup>112</sup> United States War Department, *Education in the Philippines*, 56<sup>th</sup> Congress, Second Session, Document No. 129, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1901), 55.

participate in this new system. During the Spanish colonial period, many Filipinos did not have access to higher education. The elites tended to be much more educated than members of lower socio-economic classes, but they were taught in schools that were controlled by the priests and where the interests of Spain were always upheld. Ideas that the priests felt would lead students to question Spanish rule, and thereby threaten their social control, were not taught.<sup>113</sup> The Spanish government in Madrid actually sought to improve the schools in the Philippines in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century by passing laws, including “the Educational Decree” of 1863 and the “Moret Decree” of 1870. The former was meant to increase the overall number of schools, so that more children received education, and also to provide adequate “teacher training schools and for government supervision of the public school system.” The Moret Decree was “intended to secularize higher education in [the Philippines].”<sup>114</sup> If these Spanish laws had been successfully implemented, they would have significantly broadened the scope of people, in terms of both socio-economic classes and geographic regions, who received instruction in the Philippines, as well as improved the education system as a whole. The priests in the Philippines refused to follow their country’s law by maintaining the status quo with its religious-based and very pro-clergy education system. They thought if they “blocked the enforcement” of the Madrid orders regarding education, they would help curb mutinous

---

<sup>113</sup> Raquel Reyes, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, 120.; Ambrose Coleman, *The Friars in the Philippines*, (Boston: Marlier, Callanan & Company, 1899), 42.

<sup>114</sup> Maria Corona S. Romero, Julita R. Santa Romana, and Lourdes Y. Santos, *Rizal and the Development of National Consciousness: A Textbook for the Course on Rizal’s Life, Works, and Writings*, (Quezon City, Philippines: Katha Publishing Company, Inc., 2006), 14-15.; Purino, *Rizal, the Greatest Filipino Hero*, 4.

actions by Filipinos who might be influenced by ideas learned from the government's proposed system.<sup>115</sup>

In the United States, most children had access to an education in public schools, the result of a process that began in 1852 when Massachusetts first passed a law requiring that all its children receive an education. By the time the United States took over the Philippines, 32 out of the 45 states "had legal attendance requirements."<sup>116</sup> In 1901, only three years after the commencement of the invasion, American colonial administrators and Protestant missionaries brought in teachers with the intent of instructing Filipino children in much the same way as their American counterparts in the United States.<sup>117</sup> The American education system was fervently anti-Catholic during the period due to its roots in a Protestant-dominated society with a long history of animosity toward the Catholic faith.<sup>118</sup> This "anti-clerical sentiment" combined with the inherent ethos of American public schooling that strongly disapproved of "the union of church and state." There were early attempts made to balance the Americans' negative attitudes towards Catholicism in light of the fact that it was the dominant denomination in the Philippines. This resulted in an invitation to American Catholic priests, such as the chaplain of the First California Volunteers, William D. McKinnon, to become involved

---

<sup>115</sup> Romero, Romana, and Santos, *Rizal and the Development of National Consciousness*, 16.

<sup>116</sup> Richard E. Gross, "Foreword," in *A History of Compulsory Education Laws*, by Michael S. Katz, (Bloomington, Indiana: The Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation, 1976), 6, <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED119389.pdf> (accessed August 17, 2016).

<sup>117</sup> Aguilos, "Church Realities in the Philippines: 1900-1965," 205.

<sup>118</sup> Aisling Maloney, "Heroic Effort: The History of Catholic Schools in America," *Humanum: The Quarterly Review for Cultural and Pastoral Research*, issue 2, (2015), <http://www.humanumreview.com/articles/heroic-effort-the-history-of-catholic-schools-in-america> (accessed August 17, 2016).

in the formation of the American educational system in the Philippines. Nevertheless, efforts were made to distance the new system from that employed by the Spanish.<sup>119</sup>

Catholics in the United States “reacted with horror” towards news of the sexual activities of Spanish priests in the Philippines, and so politically significant was the extent of the Americans’ disgust with the situation that then “President Roosevelt...complained...that the Catholic politician John D. Crimmins of New York had threatened to block his 1904 Presidential nomination if Roosevelt did not stop the circulation of the Protestant accusation of immorality on the part of the Catholic friars in the Philippines.” This caused the American government to “largely bury [the] official files [on the subject of priestly liaisons with women in the Philippines] in order to avoid Protestant-Catholic controversy in the United States.”<sup>120</sup> The result of these political machinations, and their impact on the school system in the Philippines, was a new generation of Filipinos with an educational background that was very much at odds with the ideology previously espoused by the Spanish priests.<sup>121</sup> This led to a significant decline in the support for priests who engaged in sexual activity, since the ideas imposed by the people running the education system “consistently disapproved of illegitimacy, mistresses, and hyperactive male sexuality.”<sup>122</sup> This, in turn, combined with the deep-seated American cultural perceptions that disapproved of priests having

---

<sup>119</sup> Joaquin Jay Gonzalez III, *Filipino American Faith in Action: Immigration, Religion, and Civic Engagement*, (New York: New York University Press, 2009), 42.

<sup>120</sup> Gleek, “The ‘Immorality’ of the Friars,” 96.

<sup>121</sup> Aguilos, “Church Realities in the Philippines: 1900-1965,” 206.

<sup>122</sup> Lewis E. Gleek Jr., *The American Governors-General and High Commissioners in the Philippines, Proconsuls, Nation-builders and Politicians*, (Quezon City, Philippines: New Day Publishers, 1986), 295.

families, led to the decline of favoritism towards priestly families in much of the Philippines.

After the United States took power in the Philippines, it became illegal for a Spanish priest to legally acknowledge his own child. This was made possible by using a technicality in the way a law was written to specifically discriminate against the children of Spanish priests. The offspring of unmarried parents who were not employed as clergy of the Catholic Church could still qualify for legal benefits. Any gain that an individual might obtain as a result of being the child of a Spanish priest (even if it were just to have the same recognition as being the child of two parents like anyone else), was a “nullity” in the eyes of the law. Children born to parents who were not married did have some legal rights in terms of being acknowledged by their fathers during the American occupation of the Philippines. This was because an individual whose parents were not married at the time of his or her birth could meet the definition of a “natural child,” but only as long as it was theoretically possible for the parents to have been married.<sup>123</sup>

The discrimination towards the children of Catholic clergy hinged upon the technicality that since priests were not permitted by their Church to marry, it was, thereby, impossible for them to have married the mothers of their children. The biological fact of paternity was, therefore, irrelevant to the legal system in the American

---

<sup>123</sup> Edmond Block and Harry Lawrence Noble, ed., *Digest of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands*, (Rochester, New York: Lawyers Cooperative Publishing Company, 1937), 609.; Republic of the Philippines Supreme Court Reports, Jose A. Vallarta v. Esperanza Aliwalas, et al, G.R. No. L-32051, (1930), [http://www.lawphil.net/judjuris/juri1930/feb1930/gr\\_I-32051\\_1930.html](http://www.lawphil.net/judjuris/juri1930/feb1930/gr_I-32051_1930.html) (accessed August 17, 2016).

Philippines. This was acknowledged in a Supreme Court ruling in 1930, in which the son of a priest, Jose A. Vallarta, was denied the legal right to state that his father had been a deceased Spanish priest named Catalino Reyes.<sup>124</sup> The law specifically discriminated against clerical offspring who were born during the Spanish colonial period. Children of priests born during the American occupation were permitted legal acknowledgement due to the same technicality used to discriminate against their Spanish-period-born counterparts. Vicente Atanasio Enriquez is an example of a child of a priest who was legally acknowledged as such due to this law. He was born in the Philippines in 1905 as the result of a liaison between a Catholic priest and a woman. The Supreme Court of the Philippines ruled in Vicente Enriquez's favor and acknowledged him as the child of the priest.<sup>125</sup> These rulings by the Supreme Court of the Philippines prevented the legal recognition of descent from Spanish priests in an era in which not having a known father was considered a source of shame. In practical terms, this discriminatory law made it very difficult for the offspring of priests (born during the Spanish colonial period) to inherit property from either of their parents.<sup>126</sup> It provides an example outside the education system in which genealogical descent from priests was disparaged, both socially and legally, during the American colonial period. This made it substantially more difficult for the offspring of priests to inherit property than for children whose fathers had different occupations. There were, of course,

---

<sup>124</sup> Republic of the Philippines Supreme Court, "Jose A. Vallarta v. Esperanza Aliwalas, et al."

<sup>125</sup> Republic of the Philippines Supreme Court Reports, In the matter of the intestate Aurea Enriquez and Francisca Reyes, deceased. Vicente Atanasio Enriquez and Pedro Garcia vs. Rafael Aquino and Josefa Aquino, G.R. No. L-9351, (1915), [http://www.lawphil.net/judjuris/juri1915/jan1915/gr\\_l-9351\\_1915.html](http://www.lawphil.net/judjuris/juri1915/jan1915/gr_l-9351_1915.html) (accessed August 17, 2016).

<sup>126</sup> Republic of the Philippines Supreme Court, "In the matter of the intestate Aurea Enriquez and Francisca Reyes, deceased."

exceptions, such as Manuel Quezon, who managed to excel politically and economically in spite of having a priestly father. This was not, however, the norm in the same sense that it was during the Spanish Period.

The combination of the ideas introduced and spread by the *ilustrados* during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the values taught in American colonial public schools, and the lack of censorship for ideas being imported freely from travelers to and from the Philippines all contributed to the decline in favoritism throughout the country towards priests having families. Many priests continued to have sexual relationships with women that resulted in children. The key difference was that instead of doing so openly, these liaisons were often covered up by the church hierarchy. The church's leadership suppressed the information about the sexual relationships of priests because it sought to prevent scandal. This worked well in a time when the media was less inclined to publish stories about clerical sex scandals (because they regarded them as "taboo") and the technology to quickly convey the information about them to the masses was less common. In the late 20<sup>th</sup> century this gradually changed, so that many sex scandals involving Filipino priests were publicized through major news companies, and mass media technologies were commonly utilized for the purpose.<sup>127</sup> The result was that many Filipinos gradually came to see families of priests as sources of shame and a drain on the Church's funding. This changing perception was directly responsible for a

---

<sup>127</sup> Earl K. Wilkinson, "Philippines: Marrying Priests and Erring Priests," in *People, Priests and Pedophiles*, ed. Earl K. Wilkinson, (Makati, Philippines: International Research Foundation, 1994), 1.; Rufo, *Altar of Secrets*, ix-xi."



decline in the amount of money that people donated to the Church.<sup>128</sup> During the Spanish colonial period, many people would often donate substantial sums of money to the priests, who used these “generous contributions” to “keep the Church and friars financially buoyant.”<sup>129</sup> As a result of the changing social values of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the differing perceptions of priestly families, it came to be understood by many Filipinos that donating money to churches would not be used for the benefit of the community. The belief became dominant, throughout much of the Philippines, that the priests would use the donations, either mostly or entirely, for the upkeep of their own families and not for the Church. This was influenced by the fact that “in the Philippines a small majority of priests live with women.” Due to this perception,” as of 2000, most parishioners [were] reluctant to donate” money to the Catholic Church in the Philippines.<sup>130</sup>

Priests who married or otherwise had sexual relationships with women were not viewed well by the church hierarchy in much of the Philippines during the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. Many clergymen lost their positions due to public revelations of these liaisons. As a result of the issues facing clerics who had sex with women in the Philippines, an organization in support of the concept of priests being allowed to have the same relationships with women as other men was created in 1987. It was called “Philippine Catholic Family Priests.”<sup>131</sup> This organization has members throughout the country, but the idea of priests living with women is not supported by the church hierarchy in the

---

<sup>128</sup> Abbott, *A History of Celibacy*, 380.

<sup>129</sup> Raquel Reyes, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, 133.

<sup>130</sup> Abbott, *A History of Celibacy*, 380.

<sup>131</sup> Philippine Catholic Family Priests, “Philippine Catholic Family Priests,” *RC Newsletter*, October 1992, in *People Priests and Pedophiles*, ed. by Earl K. Wilkinson, (Makati, Philippines: International Research Foundation, 1994), 72.

Philippines. As of 1993 in Cebu, for example, there were “more than 1,500 former priests who left the church” due to their relationships with women, many of whom became involved in the Philippine Catholic Family Priests organization. In 1993, 450 of them tried to have their positions restored by challenging the church hierarchy. They were not successful because the “Roman Catholic Church in the Philippines turned down [the priests’] request” and “refused to forward the appeal to the Vatican for consideration.”<sup>132</sup> Some of the priests who were fired or made to resign in Cebu due to their relations with women were identified as Delfin Quijano, Theodoro Rey, and Justino Cabazares. All three were outspoken about their desire to return to active duty as priests, but made clear that they were prevented from doing so by the Church’s leadership. Quijano was a spokesman for the organization and also served as a lawyer representing the priests in their challenge against the church authorities.<sup>133</sup>

### **Children of Priests Throughout the World (21<sup>st</sup>-century context)**

In most Catholic countries it is still considered socially unacceptable for priests to have relationships with women and father children. Priests and their children are treated better than in previous centuries in the sense that there are no legal restrictions

---

<sup>132</sup> Abbey Canturias, “Married Clerics want Priestly Functions back,” *Manila Times*, May 29, 1993, in *People Priests and Pedophiles*, ed. Earl K. Wilkinson, (Makati, Philippines: International Research Foundation, 1994), 79.; *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, “Church Rejects Married Priests,” June 01, 1993, in *People Priests and Pedophiles*, ed. Earl K. Wilkinson, (Makati, Philippines: International Research Foundation, 1994), 82.

<sup>133</sup> Canturias, “Married Clerics want Priestly Functions back,” 79.; Connie Fernandez, “Allow Married Priests to do Priestly work,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, May 19, 1993, in *People Priests and Pedophiles*, ed. Earl K. Wilkinson, (Makati, Philippines: International Research Foundation, 1994), 80.; *Union of Catholic Asian News*, “Married Ex-priests Challenge ‘Outcast’ Status, Clerical Celibacy,” April 29, 1996, [http://www.ucanews.com/story-archive/?post\\_name=/1996/04/29/married-expriests-challenge-outcast-status-clerical-celibacy&post\\_id=7426](http://www.ucanews.com/story-archive/?post_name=/1996/04/29/married-expriests-challenge-outcast-status-clerical-celibacy&post_id=7426) (accessed August 17, 2016).

in place that ban them from gainful employment and basic civil rights. Within the Catholic Church and in the cultural values of many of its adherents, however, sexually active clergy are still viewed in a negative light. The practice of having children remains forbidden to priests by the rules of the Church, with the exception of clergy who retained their positions when they converted from other Christian denominations (and were already married at the time). Priests who choose to ignore the Catholic Church's regulations and have children anyway often lose their jobs, either because they are fired or they resign in the face of harsh criticism from their flocks.<sup>134</sup>

There are dozens of documented examples of priests and other church officials in many different countries having sexual relationships with women that resulted in children during the early 21<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>135</sup> Each of these resulted in a significant degree of scandal when they became publicly known. Several prominent examples are listed below as a means of showing the similarity in which these issues were handled in the same era, but on different continents. In the United States, Daniel McFalls, a California priest, resigned in 2013 as a result of his church learning that he had had a son with a member of their congregation.<sup>136</sup> In an example from South America, a priest, Fernando Lugo, was elected president of Paraguay in 2008. During his presidency, it became publicly known that he had had at least one child while he was a priest and possibly as many as three. This resulted in political scandal, but he was no longer

---

<sup>134</sup> Baylor University School of Social Work, "The Silent Majority."

<sup>135</sup> Baylor University School of Social Work, "The Silent Majority."

<sup>136</sup> Nancy Dillon, "Father father – Priest has Child with Parishioner – Sees the Eyes of God looking back at him in the Child's Eyes," *New York Daily News*, September 30, 2013, <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/national/priest-fathers-child-parishioner-article-1.1472085> (accessed August 17, 2016).

employed by the church so he did not face the same penalties as those who were still priests when their relationships with women became publicly known.<sup>137</sup> Although he did not lose his job for having a sexual relationship while he was a priest, per se, Lugo was not reelected and was actually impeached before his first term ended, allegedly due to “poor performance” in resolving a dispute, but this was suspected by many as a thinly veiled “coup” by conservatives.<sup>138</sup> The fact that he had children as a priest may or may not have been a factor in his impeachment, but it certainly would not have endeared a socially conservative faction to Lugo’s cause. In any case, removing Lugo from office via impeachment was mentioned as a possibility at the time of the initial scandal about the children he conceived during his time in the priesthood, which had transpired years prior to Lugo’s removal from office.<sup>139</sup> Additionally, a priest in Ireland, Maurice Dillane, fled into “hiding” with his girlfriend and their offspring when “news of their relationship swept through [the country].” In the Irish example, it was well-known within the context of the Church’s own hierarchy that many priests were sexually active. It was not considered an anomaly if a priest had a romantic relationship, and some priests even used their “clerical collars” as an aid in picking up women. In the eyes of Church authorities, the real issue was the failure to keep these activities outside of public knowledge, since the general public still regarded celibacy as an inherent aspect of the priesthood. Perception was the important part. Priests who were discreet enough to

---

<sup>137</sup> Baylor University School of Social Work, “The Silent Majority.”

<sup>138</sup> *BBC News*, “Paraguay President Fernando Lugo Impeached by Congress,” June 23, 2012, [www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-185553813](http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-185553813) (accessed February 26, 2016).

<sup>139</sup> Luis Aguero Wagner, “Paraguay: Fernando Lugo, entre el abismo de la anomia y el bochorno global,” [www.protagonistascomar.blogspot.com/2009/12/paraguay-fernando-lugo-entre-el-abismo.html](http://www.protagonistascomar.blogspot.com/2009/12/paraguay-fernando-lugo-entre-el-abismo.html) (accessed February 26, 2016).

avoid outside detection could expect to have relationships with women without fear of censor from the Church hierarchy. Scandals and the resulting persecution only occurred when the priests' relationships became known to others outside the Church, especially when the media was involved.<sup>140</sup>

### **Children born out of wedlock (21<sup>st</sup>-century context)**

The social acceptance of children born out of wedlock in the 21<sup>st</sup> century varies widely by culture, region, and country. In general, such people are often referred to and treated far better than they were in the past centuries. By the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, in liberal-leaning parts of the United States, the marital status of a person's parents has very little bearing on how the child is treated or referred, due to the fact that 65% of people living in these areas viewed it as "morally acceptable" in 2002, compared to 77% as of 2015.<sup>141</sup> Nonetheless, among socially conservative people, being the child of married parents is still socially preferred, since it is regarded as a sign of greater family morality. This is evidenced by statistics which indicate that in 2002 only 35% of the American conservative population thought that it was "morally acceptable" to have a child out of wedlock. Though this had increased to 38% in 2015, both figures are substantially lower than their liberal equivalents.<sup>142</sup>

The separate status that defined the legal rights of people in previous centuries based on their parents' marital status was in steep decline in Western society as of

---

<sup>140</sup> Peterkin, "500 Irish Priests 'having regular sex with women.'"

<sup>141</sup> Jeffrey M. Jones, "Approval of Out-of-Wedlock Births Growing in U.S.," Gallup Polls, May 28, 2015, [www.gallup.com/poll/183428/approval-wedlock-births-growing.aspx](http://www.gallup.com/poll/183428/approval-wedlock-births-growing.aspx) (accessed August 17, 2016).

<sup>142</sup> Jones, "Approval of Out-of-Wedlock Births Growing in U.S."

2015, with only a few holdouts still retaining semblances of this earlier tradition.<sup>143</sup> The economic differences between children with married versus unmarried parents remains an issue in the United States, but is substantially lower in many European countries and largely connected with the “policy choice” of diverting substantial government funds towards welfare programs.<sup>144</sup> In 2015 between 25% and 64% (depending on the region) of births in European countries occurred without the parents of the child being married, due to a widespread decline in the legal and social stigma associated with births out of wedlock.<sup>145</sup>

In countries less influenced by Western culture, the legal rights and social acceptability of children without married parents vary widely. In many Asian countries, the debate which took place in Europe and the United States in the 20<sup>th</sup> century that eventually led to laws (which granted illegitimate children equal status as their legitimate counterparts) and gradual change in social values is taking place now (as of 2016 and the immediately preceding years). In Indonesia, for example, as late as 2012 a law was passed granting equal rights (such as “support and inheritance”) to all children regardless of their parents’ marital status. Although people born within and outside of wedlock in Indonesia are now legally equal, people without married parents still face

---

<sup>143</sup> Ellen Herman, “Illegitimacy,” University of Oregon Department of History, [pages.uoregon.edu/adoption/topics/illegitimacy.htm](http://pages.uoregon.edu/adoption/topics/illegitimacy.htm) (accessed August 17, 2016).

<sup>144</sup> Jordan Weissmann, “For Millennials, Out-of-Wedlock Childbirth is the Norm: So now what?” *Slate* June 23, 2014 [www.slate.com/articles/business/moneybox/2014/06/for\\_millennials\\_out\\_of\\_wedlock\\_childbirth\\_is\\_the\\_norm\\_now\\_what.html](http://www.slate.com/articles/business/moneybox/2014/06/for_millennials_out_of_wedlock_childbirth_is_the_norm_now_what.html) (accessed February 25, 2016).

<sup>145</sup> Carl Haub, “Births Outside Marriage Now Common in Many Countries in Europe,” Population Reference Bureau, [www.prb.org/Publications/Articles/2010/birthsoutidemarriage.aspx](http://www.prb.org/Publications/Articles/2010/birthsoutidemarriage.aspx) (accessed February 24, 2016).

widespread social discrimination.<sup>146</sup> Japan passed a similar law in 2013, which ended a previous policy in which children born out of wedlock could only inherit “half that of a legitimate child.”<sup>147</sup> Conservative Muslim-majority countries, such as Pakistan and Iraq, have very harsh penalties for women who have children out of wedlock, and their offspring face significant stigma throughout their lives. Women who have a child without being married to the father face very high legal and social stigma and are often beaten and/or imprisoned by court order or ex-judicially murdered in “honor killings,” which are seldom prosecuted due to cultural (and in some cases, legal) support for the practice.<sup>148</sup>

### **Conclusion**

Clerical celibacy has been a major point of contention in many societies throughout history. Prior to the Council of Trent, clerical sexual activity was widely accepted and was generally not considered unusual. In the centuries since the Council of Trent edicts mandated clerical celibacy, the offspring and sexual partners of Catholic priests faced widespread discrimination throughout many countries. This historical treatment was part of the larger legal and social issue of children born to unwed parents. In the Spanish Philippines, priests with families were considered the norm and a stigma against them did not exist. Perceptions about clerical celibacy in the Philippines changed following an influx of ideas from outside the Spanish’s control in the

---

<sup>146</sup> Simon Butt, “Asia-Pacific ‘Illegitimate’ Children and Inheritance in Indonesia.”

<sup>147</sup> Kyodo Jiji, “Equal inheritance rights now law but illegitimate birth registries stand.”

<sup>148</sup> Sangh Mittra and Bachchan Kumar, ed., *Encyclopedia of Women in South Asia (Pakistan)*, vol. 2, (Delhi, India: Kalpaz Publications, 2004), 36-40.; Robert Fisk, “‘Honor’ Killing: The Crimewave that Shames the World,” *CommonDreams*, September 07, 2010, <http://www.commondreams.org/news/2010/09/07/honor-killing-crimewave-shames-world> (accessed August 17, 2016).

late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Legal, social, and cultural ideas about clerical celibacy and children born to unwed mothers continuously evolved throughout both the Philippines and the broader world over the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. This is important for understanding the context in which the Nepomucenos' books *A Cofradia of Two* and *Destiny and Destination* were published since both promote the family's descent from a priest.



## CHAPTER 3: THE CONSTRUCTION OF AN ELITE HERITAGE

### Introduction

The Nepomuceno family published three books in the first decade of the 21st century which all served to promote their genealogical ties to 19th- and 20th-century elites in Pampanga. The Nepomucenos' books describe their family members in ways which are clearly meant to highlight their ties with Catholicism and how the family benefited the Kapampangan people. These portrayals were part of an effort to advance the notion that the Nepomucenos had a family background that was similarly prestigious as, for instance, the Cojuangcos and other oligarchic elites. The Nepomuceno family's actual background as elites in Pampanga is already extensively detailed in Chapter 1, so it is not also described here. The differences between the Nepomucenos and the oligarchic elites can best be understood by comparing them to the more nationally prominent families who they sought to emulate. This chapter first compares, then contrasts the Nepomucenos with the oligarchic elite families. It then shows, using direct quotes from the text, the ways in which the Nepomucenos promoted themselves in their books.

### Similarities between the Nepomucenos and the Oligarchic Elites

The Aquinos had ancestors who in the 19<sup>th</sup> century were "municipal heads" in Central Luzon,<sup>1</sup> which were essentially the same as the positions that several

---

<sup>1</sup> John Foreman, *The Philippine Islands: A Political, Geographical, Ethnographical, Social and Commercial History of the Philippine Archipelago embracing the Whole Period of Spanish Rule with an Account of the Succeeding American Insular Government*, (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., 1906), 202-

Nepomucenos (such as Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno, for example) held during the same period. Like the Nepomucenos, the Aquinos also had members achieve relative prominence during the Philippine revolutionary period against Spain.<sup>2</sup> The Romualdez family were, likewise, mayors (of Burauren) during the Spanish colonial period.<sup>3</sup> The Romualdezes were also similar to the Nepomucenos in that they descended from a Spanish priest through a female line (Francisco Lopez was the Romualdezes' priestly ancestor). During the American period, the Romualdezes continued to serve as mid-level officials, such as judges, and mayors. Noriberto Romualdez was involved in creating a private school, the "Academy of the Visayan Language of Sama and Leyte," during the American colonial period,<sup>4</sup> which could be compared with Juan de Dios Nepomuceno being involved in the founding of Holy Angel (which started out as a high school and eventually became a university) during the same period. The Cojuangcos, likewise, had a member serve in the Malolos Congress during the revolutionary period<sup>5</sup> (which was also a role held by Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno). The Cojuangco family was also similar to the Nepomucenos in that they held prominent political positions in Tarlac as, for instance, governor during the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century (the same era when Francisco Nepomuceno and his wife served terms as governors of Pampanga).<sup>6</sup> The roles that I just described are all prominent positions for which members of the

---

203.; Nick Joaquin, *The Aquinos of Tarlac: An Essay on History as Three Generations*, (Mandaluyong, Philippines: Cacho Hermanos, Inc., 1983), 27.

<sup>2</sup> Joaquin, *The Aquinos of Tarlac*, 31.

<sup>3</sup> Sterling Seagrave, *The Marcos Dynasty*, GoogleBooks eBook.

<sup>4</sup> Toto Gonzalez, "Remembrance of Things Gone Awry."

<sup>5</sup> Dante C. Simbulan, *The Modern Principalia: The Historical Evolution of the Philippine Ruling Oligarchy*, (Quezon City, Philippines: The University of the Philippines Press, 2005), 140.

<sup>6</sup> Benedict Anderson, *The Spectre of Comparisons*, 192.

oligarchic families are known and are very similar to those held by the Nepomucenos during the same periods. It is these similarities that the Nepomucenos' self-promotion in their books highlight.

### **Differences between the Nepomucenos and the Oligarchic Families**

Despite the similarities that the Nepomucenos emphasized in their books, their family was also fundamentally different from those of the oligarchs. One of the most important elements for understanding how they are different is in regards to the scale. The Nepomucenos' ancestors ran businesses that were important within the context of Pampanga, but they were not nationally significant. Likewise, the Nepomucenos held political offices that were very important within the confines of their home province, but which did not have influence outside it. The oligarchic families certainly held such positions too, but their members also held nationally important positions, such as senator, congressperson, and president. Likewise, the economic power that the oligarchs wielded was much more significant since they ran and owned companies that did business across multiple provinces. Another key difference between the Nepomucenos and the oligarchs is in regards to the amount of land that they controlled within their home provinces. The Nepomucenos certainly held property far beyond that held by non-elite people, but the oligarchs owned vast landed estates that were used for agricultural purposes during the Spanish colonial period, and which continued to be important to the elite families' incomes during subsequent centuries.

## **Overview of Nepomucenos' 21<sup>st</sup>-Century Self-Promotions**

A unifying feature across *A Cofradia of Two*, *Destiny and Destination*, and *The Gomez Family of Angeles* is the Nepomucenos' promotion of their descent from a Spanish priest who was prominent in the Angeles area during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The seemingly lax attitude in Pampanga towards clerical sexual activity cannot be attributed to a lack of religious conviction on the part of the local people. Belief in the Catholic faith is very "intense" in Pampanga, such that "Kapampangans are known for their deep religiosity."<sup>7</sup> In addition to the province's general religious culture, it is important to note that the setting in which the Nepomuceno family published *A Cofradia of Two: Oral History on the Family Life and Lay Religiosity of Juan D. Nepomuceno and Teresa G. Nepomuceno of Angeles, Pampanga* and *Destiny and Destination: The Extraordinary Story and History of Holy Angel University, 1933-2008* is even more highly affiliated with Catholicism than most of the local people. Both books were published through the Juan D. Nepomuceno Center for Kapampangan Studies, which is a department within Holy Angel University, a private institution of higher learning that is directly affiliated with the Catholic Church.<sup>8</sup> The university focuses on the "local history and culture" of the region.<sup>9</sup> It was founded by two members of the Nepomuceno family in conjunction with a Catholic priest named Pedro Santos. It was initially a high school but was later expanded to include a post-

---

<sup>7</sup> Rufo, *Altar of Secrets*, 48.; Rufo, "Pampanga's Priests defy Celibacy."

<sup>8</sup> Robert P. Tangingco and Lisa N. Mapua, *Destiny and Destination: The Extraordinary Story and History of Holy Angel University, 1933-2008*, (Angeles City, Philippines: Juan D. Nepomuceno Center for Kapampangan Studies, Holy Angel University Press, 2008), 58.

<sup>9</sup> Tangingco and Mapua, *Destiny and Destination*, 220.

secondary institution as well.<sup>10</sup> Pedro Santos was an important member of the Catholic Church in Pampanga and later became a bishop.<sup>11</sup> Holy Angel University was almost always run by a member of the Nepomuceno family.<sup>12</sup> From 1985-1995, its president was Josefina Nepomuceno, the daughter of the two co-founders, who was also a nun.<sup>13</sup> The three books that mentioned the priestly ancestry of the Nepomuceno family devoted a significant number of pages to promoting the family's strong adherence to the Catholic faith. They described the ways in which the Nepomucenos had helped Holy Angel University and Angeles City and made frequent references to their "religiosity."

Guillermo Masnou, the priest from whom the Nepomucenos descend, was promoted in both *A Cofradia of Two* and *Destiny and Destination* as an illustrious ancestor of the Holy Angel University co-founder, Teresa Gomez, and as an important historical figure in his own right.<sup>14</sup> *A Cofradia of Two* relates the story of how Masnou joined the Augustinian order in Spain and immigrated to the Philippines as a missionary.<sup>15</sup> It goes into detail about the churches where he worked and describes how he served Angeles City as its parish priest for more than 20 years.<sup>16</sup> This biographical description comes across as a means of promoting the background of Teresa Gomez (who married Juan de Dios Nepomuceno) in a way that clearly shows

---

<sup>10</sup> Tangingco and Mapua, *Destiny and Destination*, 34, 58.

<sup>11</sup> Tangingco and Mapua, *Destiny and Destination*, 80.

<sup>12</sup> Tangingco and Mapua, *Destiny and Destination*, 276.

<sup>13</sup> Tangingco and Mapua, *Destiny and Destination*, 176, 20

<sup>14</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 95-99.; Tangingco and Mapua, *Destiny and Destination*, 52-53.

<sup>15</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 95.

<sup>16</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 97.

she had important Catholic roots.<sup>17</sup> *A Cofradia of Two* briefly addresses the fact that people in the 19<sup>th</sup> century may have found it strange that Masnou (as a priest) had a romantic relationship with a woman named Patricia Mercado, which (as noted earlier) resulted in the birth of six children.<sup>18</sup> Since the possibility that the people of the time may have found it odd that a priest had a sexual relationship is mentioned, then it must have been known in early 21<sup>st</sup>-century Pampanga that some Catholics would find such behavior offensive. This brief reference to possible impropriety is, nevertheless, quickly glossed over, obviously because the Nepomucenos wanted to dispel any notion that their ancestor might have behaved unfavorably and did not want to draw undue attention to it. It is made clear that there is no evidence to suggest that people in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Pampanga viewed the relationship between Guillermo Masnou and Patricia Mercado with any form of hostility.<sup>19</sup>

In *Destiny and Destination* the Nepomucenos are promoted as the founders and long-time administrators of Holy Angel University.<sup>20</sup> Their historical contributions to the university and the surrounding geographic region (particularly Angeles City) are highlighted, as are the specific Nepomuceno ancestors who were involved in those events (which are described in great detail in Chapter 1). These contributions were sometimes made through the political careers of ancestors like Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno. Most of the book is spent listing and describing these ways in which members of the Nepomuceno family helped the people of Pampanga, such as

---

<sup>17</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 94.

<sup>18</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 98.

<sup>19</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 98.

<sup>20</sup> Tangingco and Mapua, *Destiny and Destination*, 276.

founding Angeles, serving as a priest for decades, running companies that many people rely on for their utilities, etc. Special emphasis is placed on the extent to which the Nepomucenos and their ancestors were devoutly Catholic. So great is the extent to which the Nepomucenos and their relatives are promoted in *Destiny and Destination*, that it could be argued that despite the name, the book is really more about the positive impact of people genealogically linked to the Nepomucenos than it is about Holy Angel University itself.

Guillermo Masnou is one of many people who is mentioned in a section of the book that is devoted to chronicling the noteworthy achievements of the Nepomucenos' ancestors.<sup>21</sup> The fact that he was a priest and involved with the local church is emphasized. His relationship as a grandfather of one of the two co-founders of Holy Angel University is explicitly stated so that there can be no misunderstanding the fact that he was an ancestor and not merely an ancestor's brother or cousin.<sup>22</sup> Unlike the other historically important Nepomuceno ancestors mentioned in the section, a glossy painting of Guillermo Masnou is also included, along with a caption identifying him as a priest.<sup>23</sup> The painting of Guillermo Masnou is one of only three pictures of Nepomuceno relatives that appear in that section of the book, and his is the only picture among those shown that is not a group photo. The fact that Guillermo Masnou was the only one of all the people mentioned (in the section of the book that was about pre-Holy Angel Nepomuceno ancestors) who had his own

---

<sup>21</sup> Tangingco and Mapua, *Destiny and Destination*, 52.

<sup>22</sup> Tangingco and Mapua, *Destiny and Destination*, 53.

<sup>23</sup> Tangingco and Mapua, *Destiny and Destination*, 53.

separate picture implies that he was perceived as more important than the others by the people who wrote the book. In a break from the style of *A Cofradia of Two*, *Destiny and Destination* in no way implies that Masnou did anything that might be construed as wrong by conceiving the Nepomuceno line. The tone in *Destiny and Destination* is clearly one of promotion and reverence. This book was written about the history of the university and was clearly created with the student body as the target market. As of 2015, it is advertised for sale through the website of Holy Angel University's campus bookstore and is one of only a few books that is visible on multiple parts of the site. Since Holy Angel University is a Catholic institution and it is assumed that most of the students that attend it are Catholic, it can reasonably be inferred that the people who wrote the book (with the clear knowledge of the Nepomucenos who run the school and for whom the publishing department is named) knew that there was a good likelihood that it would be read by Catholics who took their faith seriously. The priestly descent of the Nepomuceno family would not have been promoted so blatantly and openly by a Catholic institution if it were believed that clerical offspring were in contradiction and an offense to local religious beliefs.

### **Specifics of Nepomucenos' 21<sup>st</sup>-Century Self-Promotions**

As was described earlier, the Nepomucenos used their genealogy and the Catholic university press that they controlled to promote their status as regionally significant elites, and to advance the idea that their family held a similar level of significance as did the oligarchic families. The following paragraphs show the specific ways in which the Nepomucenos described themselves throughout their books.



Although I give explanations when necessary (such as in regards to the formatting of the books so that the reader understands the context), the emphasis is on showing the Nepomucenos' self-promotions in their own words. The Nepomucenos' descriptions are divided up into sections based on each of the two books in which they most prominently promote their ancestry for a public audience. Since there are far too many instances throughout the books to mention all of them here, I only describe the most important quotations that show the emphasis that the Nepomucenos' books put on their elite status and on their ties to Catholicism. *The Gomez Family of Angeles* is not included here because it was self-published by Carmelo Nepomuceno and hence was not promoted through Holy Angel University, so its intended audience was most likely different.

### ***A Cofradia of Two***

A key focal point of *A Cofradia of Two* is that it serves the purpose of promoting the Nepomucenos' ties to Catholicism. This is made clear throughout the text, but it can also be seen in the full title: *A Cofradia of Two: Oral History on the Family Life and Lay Religiosity of Juan D. Nepomuceno and Teresa G. Nepomuceno of Angeles, Pampanga*. Note that it is specifically stated in the title that the book is about the "religiosity" of Juan and Teresa, which implies a positive connection between them and religion. The following paragraphs are the "foreword" of *A Cofradia of Two*. The text in brackets are my comments, added to explain connections to the reader that may not otherwise be clear:

Pampanga was described by the 19<sup>th</sup>-century French traveler Mallat as one of the most beautiful provinces in the Philippines. Aside from its natural resources it also has a generous share of illustrious families and personalities. Among them were the Mirandas, the Hensons and the Pamintuans [all of which are ancestors of the Nepomucenos and are described as such further into the text]. As prominent clans they were leaders in the social and economic developments of the province. By the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Pampanga was one of the richest provinces of the Philippines producing cash crops like sugar to rival Negros and Iloilo. One of the prominent foreign visitors to Pampanga was Grand Duke Alexis of Russia, who arrived in the 1880s as a guest of the Arnedo family [who were a close allied line of the Nepomucenos through Juan de Dios Nepomuceno's stepmother] of Sulipan and Apalit, and was overwhelmed by the splendid hospitality of his hosts.

The story of the prominent clans of Pampanga, however, were not entirely opulent or glamorous. All of them started small and simple. They endured natural and man-made calamities but eventually they did not only survive but also prospered. Such was the story of the Nepomucenos of Angeles. The union of Juan and Teresa, aptly called a "cofradia," was a partnership which gave birth to a respected educational institution, the Holy Angel University, and a host of various enterprises which became part of the municipal landscape of Angeles. The establishment of businesses owned by the Nepomucenos such as the ice plant, the softdrink [sic] factory and the electric company were not only signs of development in Angeles but were partners of the development of the town to a modern urbanized community. These were products of hard work and foresight of the Nepomuceno couple and their children. Failures were never viewed as setbacks but as challenges which made the clan stronger. The clan endured the tumultuous agrarian unrest of the 1930s, the Second World War and the traumatic social events following the recognition of Philippine independence.

Social responsibility was never forgotten in the clan. While fulfilling the needs of the people of Angeles and the other towns of Pampanga, Juan and Teresa Nepomuceno remained aware of their humble origins and their duties towards their countrymen. As government officials and businessmen, they lived exemplary lives. Their traits passed on to their children.

The fund of stories in this book provides the student of history of life in Pampanga during the 20<sup>th</sup> century with details enlivened by the narrations of the Nepomuceno children. Here there are nuggets of wisdom from which we can draw inspiration and an appreciation of our past.<sup>24</sup>

---

<sup>24</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 7-8.

The foreword clearly promotes the Nepomucenos' status within the context of Pampanga. It does this through its statements that the Nepomucenos created "a respected educational institution" and that they "lived exemplary lives" "as government officials and businessmen." Despite mentioning several "prominent clans" in the beginning of the foreword, it is stated that Juan and Teresa "started small and simple" and that their status as elites in terms of their economic and political power were "products of hard work and foresight of the Nepomuceno couple." The fact that the Nepomucenos descended from the "prominent clans" that are listed in the first paragraph is not mentioned in the foreword, although these genealogical connections are certainly described further into the book (in fact, they are clearly stated on the very first page of the main text).<sup>25</sup> Although it would presumably be challenging to run successful businesses and to run for and hold political office, this would have been substantially more difficult for Juan and Teresa's generation if they were actually from the "humble origins" that the foreword states and not the reality in which both their fathers served as mayors of Angeles and their families held elite positions in each generation dating back at least as far as the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The fact that this was not mentioned in the foreword (and the opposite was repeatedly implied) but that it was emphasized further into the book, shows that while the Nepomucenos wanted to promote their status as elites, they also saw the importance of a hook to draw readers into their genealogy. A rags-to-riches story about a local couple from "humble origins" who "endured tumultuous agrarian unrest" and "traumatic social events" probably

---

<sup>25</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 27.

seemed more interesting and relatable to readers than two people who were born into old money families and made their already wealthy families richer. Another important statement in the foreword is that Juan and Teresa's "exemplary" "traits" "passed on to their children." This passage is of particular significance because Juan and Teresa's still-living children were the ones who were involved in the "oral history" side of *A Cofradia of Two*, and one of them (Josefina) was the president of Holy Angel University at the time *A Cofradia of Two* was published. The Nepomucenos are, therefore, clearly stressing the connection between literally themselves (since the living ones were involved in the creation of *A Cofradia of Two*) and the parents that they are claiming led such "exemplary lives."<sup>26</sup> This serves to promote the Nepomuceno family that existed at the time *A Cofradia of Two* was published (in 2004) to the audience that would read the book.

The preface of *A Cofradia of Two* goes on to put emphasis on the importance of the connection between the Nepomuceno family and Catholicism. On the first page, the author, Erlita Mendoza, describes how her "growing-up years [were] replete with stories about [Juan and Teresa's] kindness and religiosity," and that because of them, "Kapampangans will never be wanting of leaders of the faith." She also states that the "family stories" of the Nepomucenos "express a great deal" about their "devotions and faith." Further into the preface, additional emphasis is put on the Nepomucenos' religion through statements such as the "Roman Catholic religious fount from which the couple drank deep and lived by" shows "their Christian and Catholic sensibilities."<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>26</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 7-8.

<sup>27</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 15-16.

Whenever either Rely or Josefina Nepomuceno (two children of Juan and Teresa's) are mentioned, their titles are included, so the fact they were a priest and nun, respectively, is made clear. The preface concludes with a three-paragraph quotation from Pope John Paul II about the importance of "family" and how it "is essential for the good of society."<sup>28</sup> This quote serves to establish the significance of the Nepomuceno family in terms of its ties to Catholicism and relevancy to the people of Pampanga. This quote's placement at the very end of the preface solidifies the emphasis that is already used in the preface and the foreword just in case, by some chance, the earlier associations between the Nepomucenos and Catholicism were in any way unclear.

The Nepomuceno family's elite status and their resulting importance to Pampanga is also promoted in the preface of *A Cofradia of Two*. While the preface certainly puts emphasis on the Nepomucenos' elite status, a greater focus is placed on the ways in which they helped the local people. Essentially, the Nepomucenos' upper-class status is shown as means by which the reader can understand why the Nepomucenos are so important in Pampanga. "The family's robust influx of capital in the local economy" is stressed, as is the idea that they were "one of Pampanga's premiere families." It is similarly stated that Juan and Teresa "left legacies that shape the history and well-being of Angeles and its people."<sup>29</sup>

The main text of *A Cofradia of Two* starts by giving a brief overview of the family backgrounds of Juan and Teresa. Juan's biographical sketch stresses the significance

---

<sup>28</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 21.

<sup>29</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 15-16.

of both his elite background and his ties to Catholicism, whereas Teresa's puts emphasis on her seemingly humbler origins while also stressing her religious ties. For some reason, Teresa's biographical sketch does not mention the occupations of her parents or grandparents, just their names, but Juan's sketch does mention the significance of his ancestors. Juan's father and Teresa's father were both mayors of Angeles, so this seems contradictory. Nevertheless, the elite status of Teresa's family members is detailed at length further into the text.

The following is Juan's initial biographical sketch:

Juan De Dios Nepomuceno y Paras was born on March 8, 1892, the third child of Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno y Henson (Capitan Juan) and his second wife, Aurea Paras y Gomez. His paternal grandparents were Pio Rafael Nepomuceno y Villasenor, of Lucban, Tayabas (now Quezon) and Maria Agustina Henson y de Miranda, granddaughter of Don Angel Panteleon de Miranda, the pioneer citizen-founder of Angeles. His maternal grandparents were Francisco Paras y de Castro and Joaquina Gomez y Lising. He was born on the feast of San Juan de Dios (St. John of God); his middle initial was derived from his second Christian name as was the custom during his time.

His education was shaped largely by the Jesuits, starting from his early schooling at the *Escuela Normal* (as a member the class of *niños de la escuela practica*) and then in preparation for priestly vocation at the *Colegio de San Francisco Javier* (College of St. Francis Xavier) in Padre Faura, Manila. He received his Bachelor of Arts degree *with honors* on May 27, 1914. He contracted typhoid fever early in his enrolment at the *Colegio*, and on account of his poor health, the Jesuit Fathers must have had serious doubts about Juan continuing the sustained studies towards priesthood.<sup>30</sup>

Teresa's initial biographical sketch is shown below:

Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez y Pamintuan was born on August 12, 1893, the ninth of eleven children of Esteban Gomez y Mercado and Josefa Pamintuan y Pamintuan. Her paternal grandparents were Nicolas Gomez and Patricia

---

<sup>30</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 27.

Mercado y Canlas, originally of Santo Tomas, Pampanga. Her maternal grandparents were Vicente Pamintuan y Dizon and his cousin Severina Pamintuan. She was born on the feast of St. Clare o Assisi, hence her Christian name. Teresa had limited education, she reached only third grade (at most fifth), because of poor health. She acquired her little schooling at the *Colegio de la Sagrada Familia* (Holy Family Academy), the parochial school of Angeles run at that time by the Augustinian Sisters. Having left school, she took care instead of her younger sisters and brother, nieces and nephews. She became her mother's assistant, overseeing the other siblings and the household, especially as Josefa had been widowed early. Teresa is said to have had a hand in the renovation of the Gomez residence along Plaridel St., known for its intricate wood latticework that were some of the finest in town during its time.<sup>31</sup>

*A Cofradia of Two* goes on to describe at length the ways in which Teresa and Juan contributed to the economic growth and general well-being of the people of Pampanga through their creation of local businesses, Holy Angel University, etc. The family background of both Juan and Teresa is repeatedly stressed with varying degrees of specifics throughout the text. From pages 94-100, Teresa's ancestors are described in enough detail that their occupations, including but not limited to her grandfather's status as a priest, are made clear. Aspects of her ancestors' lives are described at length. The longest and most detailed information is about her priest grandfather and his lover, so the implication of their importance and the lack of shame on the part of the Nepomucenos when promoting such a relationship through a Catholic university press is clear. The following paragraphs are taken from the text of *A Cofradia of Two* in regards to Teresa's family history:

Teresa left school during her primary years because of poor health and never returned to the classroom to be formally educated. She became her mother's right-hand girl instead. She was barely in her teens when Teresa, the ninth child, took care of her youngest siblings (Lourdes, Isabel and Federico) in a bid to ease

---

<sup>31</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 27-28.

her mother's cares as a widow of the late Esteban Gomez, a former town mayor of Angeles.

Because she had lost her father before her teenage years, Teresa imbibed the acumen and disposition for business from her mother. Josefa operated a fabric and textile store in the public market and at the same time owned and managed lands in some parts of Mabalacat, and La Paz and Concepcion in Tarlac. She kept her daughter Teresa near, which in turn gave the latter the close company of a dynamic, entrepreneurial mother and the familiarity of sellers, vendors, local capitalists and landowners like them. She grew up no stranger to the busy, bustling and vigorous dealing and trading in the market place. She had the unfazed mien of someone intimate with supply and demand in the market. From her father and mother, Teresa acquired unequivocal personal traits and inherited a family history and legend that in due time shaped and brought about her unique character and an even more singular worldview.

Sometime in 1855, a local woman from Santo Tomas, Pampanga by the name of Patricia Mercado y Canlas arrived in Angeles. She had with her three children born in her town of origin. Having settled in Angeles, Patricia Mercado purchased and owned lands which she let and cultivated with rice and sugar, ran milling stations in Mabalacat, built a house and maintained a large household along Santo Rosario St. beside the *principalia*'s residences, and generally lived an independent and quiet life nurturing and caring for her children.

An interesting detail in the history of Patricia Mercado's Angeles-based family is the presence of a *dramatis persona* by the name of Nicolas Gomez. Angeles (Santo Rosario) parish records mention him as a European Spaniard who married Patricia and fathered her next six children, all of whom were born, baptized and raised in Angeles. Recent studies and publication from the family genealogist and historian indicate that Nicolas Gomez was Fray Guillermo Masnou, O.S.A.

F. Nicolas Guillermo Masnou y Gomez of Valladolid, Spain (1827-1895) was a member of the Order of Saint Augustine (O.S.A.) of less than three years when he was assigned and permitted to sail, together with thirty-four other Augustinians, to a mission halfway around the world to "Filipinas", the farthest colony of the Spanish empire. After arriving in Manila on the second of January 1853, he stayed for a while in the mother house before being assigned by his superiors to the parish church of Santo Tomas, Pampanga in October of the same year.

There were three thousand eight hundred souls under his care in this town, mostly native Kapampangans and a sprinkling of Chinese *mestizos*. In this town formerly known as Baliuag, later dedicated to and named after St. Thomas the Apostle, the main source of livelihood of the people was farming and their produce consisted of *palay*, corn, sugar cane, black pepper, sesame (oil), cotton, abaca, various kinds of vegetables (especially the garden varieties and legumes) and fruits. Aside from agriculture, the people were skillful in running the local manufacture of cloth or fabric made of cotton and abaca. At the age of twenty eight and with barely a hold to his moorings, F. Masnou tackled the strange



setting and the solitary life as the town's *cura paroco*, which left him bereft of companions and with very little knowledge of the local language. He was actually the first Spanish parish priest of Santo Tomas after a succession of secular clergy since the town's creation in 1830.

Confined to a solitary life in the countryside and away from the Catholic ecclesiastical mainstream and his Augustinian brothers, F. Masnou experienced his doleful share of what the Frenchman J. Mallat vividly described and recorded in 1846, a few years before the former set sail for the island:

“In the Philippines, the priests are men who have dedicated themselves to living far from relations with their compatriots in order to devote themselves entirely for the welfare of the Indian races: it has been noted that madness is very common among the religious, and this has been attributed to the conflicts between nature and the privations imposed by celibacy; but the true cause is melancholy inspired by the profound solitude in which they live, surrounded only by Indios whose character is diametrically opposed to theirs, whose excessive nonchalance contrasts with the ardent zeal of the religious...”

F. Masnou must have welcomed the occasional company of the locals. The landed members of the town and its merchants, somewhat familiar to the ways and language of the Spaniards, were a breath of fresh air in the stifling loneliness and strangeness of surroundings the young priest experienced so acutely in his mission. To his utmost relief, the local elite provided a modicum of conversation and a semblance of socialization. It was in this context that he met Patricia Mercado and from then on a relationship ensued.

In April of 1855, F. Masnou moved to the town of Angeles to serve as its parish priest. Here he proved to be an indefatigable leader of the flock, having already familiarized himself with the culture and lifestyle of the locals in Santo Tomas and with their religious needs and general aspirations.

This town had a larger population than Santo Tomas. There were now almost six thousand souls under his care and there was a bigger concentration of the Chinese *mestizos* intermingled with the native Kapampangans in the area. The main industry of the town was agriculture and the people produced *palay* and rice, sugar cane, corn, sesame (oil), *huri*, bananas, and *nipa*: trading their produce and by-products (such as sugar) with neighboring towns had augured well for the townsfolk. Founded only thirty years earlier (1829) and known then as Culiati, the town of Angeles at Masnou's arrival was a town with its own set of *ilustrados* and a well-established *principalia* class and whose citizens were comfortably interacting with the urbane Manila.

He was parish priest of Angeles from April 11, 1855 to January 31, 1877 and was instrumental in building the foundations for the first concrete parish church, previously made from *sawali*, *nipa*, and bamboo materials. He put a *convento* or rectory for the priests; started the Catholic cemetery for the faithful;

and assisted in the building of concrete bridges (stone rubble-work) for the safe mobility of townspeople. Likewise, he initiated construction of the parochial school.

Based locally, he was a writer-contributor of to *Ilustracion Filipina* (1859-1860). Writing under the pen name of 'El Tio Nadie', he wrote a series of essays titled "El Mediquillo" which were well-received by the readers. He wrote the "Prologue" to Fr. Manuel Blanco's seminal work *Flora de Filipinas* which was published in Manila in 1876 as well as *sermones* in the local language. He is known to have authored a manuscript, unfortunately lost, that sought to prove that the first printing press in the islands was set up in Lubao, Pampanga by the Augustinians. During this twenty-year residency in Angeles, he mastered the local language well enough to translate the Spanish work of Archbishop Antonio Maria Claret y Clara into Kapampangan for the laity's edification as *Capabalan ampong usuc a matampa caring talasaua't ibpa ning pibalebale, ingguil qng icacayap ding caladuara ampong ing caring catubalera* which underwent, by 1876, a second printing by the Imprenta de Ramirez y Giraudier in Manila.

During F. Masnou's tenure as a parish priest of the town, the spouses Pio Rafael Nepomuceno and Agustina Henson donated land to the town for the transfer of the public market from its site in front of the church to the central San Nicolas district, then known as Talimunduc. In 1855, a woeful fire razed the market and alerted the couple of the danger that threatened the slight built of their church. The eventual transfer afforded the townsfolk a more spacious venue for their economic activities as well as secured their place of worship.

For the first time, the leading families paraded in the Holy Week procession of 1860 their "costly and luxuriously carved and gilded image floats, replacing the former modest biers of 1830." In 1865, made-in-England galvanized iron roofing was applied for the first time to the remodeled town church. By October 1871, the procession and celebration of the "La Naval" in Angeles, started by the pioneer spouses de Miranda-de Jesus and their family, were firmly established in the hearts of the Angelenos such that on the eve of the fiesta (*bisperas*), thousands of lanterns were said to have illuminated the cornices of the church, the churchyard, the makeshift band stands, festive arches and the streets, which had been prepared by the townsfolk as early as July.

In October 1873, through public contributions, the silver tabernacle in the church was inaugurated and the building next to the church (presently occupied by the Benedictine Sisters of the Holy Family Academy) was completed. On December 8, 1876, in just two months before ending his tenure as parish priest, F. Masnou led the townsfolk in welcoming the Most Rev. Pedro Payo, Archbishop of Manila, on a Diocesan visit. During this time, the first Pontifical Mass in Angeles was celebrated on its 47<sup>th</sup> founding day.

Fray Masnou and Patricia Mercado's relationship resulted in six children, the eldest of whom was Esteban, Teresa's father. There is very little in oral tradition to suggest that the Masnou-Mercado coupling resulted in ostracism or condemnation by the Angeles townsfolk. On the whole, F. Masnou carried out his priestly ministry with the generous support and regard of the parishioners

while Patricia Mercado lived out the life of a woman of independent means and virtual single mother. She had rice lands as far north as La Paz and Concepcion, Tarlac and singlehandedly managed her fiscal assets derived from her properties.

Local lore have it that the two protagonists carried themselves well in the community and did not engage in any public display that would offend the parishioners. Although they each had a very public persona – one was the parish priest and the other a local businesswoman – they managed to lead private lives. Despite what locals even then may have considered an improper marriage alliance, “Mr. Gomez” and Patricia Mercado knew their place in society and conducted themselves with such circumspect humility that few people publicly found reproach with them or with the family. Their eldest child Esteban eventually became Angeles’ town mayor for a two-year term starting in 1902 and their grandson, Esteban’s second son, Demetrio, served the town in the same capacity in the years 1913-1916.

F. Guillermo Masnou returned to Spain in 1877 to become rector of the Colegio de Sta. Maria de la Vid. For health reasons, he returned to the Philippines in 1878 where he was assigned to Guagua, Pampanga in 1878 and Concepcion, Tarlac in 1880. He retired in Manila in 1883 after suffering a stroke and died at the Convento de San Pablo (San Agustin) in 1895.

On April 4, 1900, at the age of seventy-one, Patricia Mercado Gomez died of natural causes. The Angeles church records (*Entierros*) indicate her as single and unmarried. In the Nicolas Gomez-Patricia Mercado narrative there was an F. Masnou who made possible the editing or altering of data on the parish record books in a bid to bring a more permanent respectability to Patricia and her children. But leading their separate lives in the later years as they were destined to, and having died five years before she did, in the end he could not have been around to have the truth written otherwise. Thus, was Patricia reverted by the records – irrevocably, immutably – to being the *soltera* that she truthfully was all her life.

Meanwhile, Teresa’s mother, Josefa, was born into the Pamintuan family of Angeles, who were esteemed members of the landowning class. However, she was the result of a relationship ‘between marriages’ by Don Vicente Pamintuan and his cousin, Severina. She was recognized and given the family name, and in time she made herself worthy of the respect and regard of the main branch of the family by becoming a hardworking woman of independent means. For Josefa, her family name was no favor to some dais in society nor did it promise the comfortable insouciance of the rich because there was little that her townmates did not know about her or her origins. The drive and motivation of Josefa Pamintuan Gomez was the knowledge of her roots and the unyielding determination not to let her parentage keep her from making something meaningful out of her life.

Born of parents whose respective lineages were endowed with such colorful pasts, Teresa grew up to be a woman of uncommon amount of native intelligence and a deep reservoir of charity. She was aware of her heritage and

was guided by this self-knowledge for what she extended, described in justified admiration, as “great love and service to her relatives and friends.”

Her children and those who knew her speak glowingly of Teresa’s business accomplishment, her success in establishing the enterprises that have become the foundation of the family’s wealth and resources. She had a uncanny knack for choosing business from the simply (selling empty cans and ice drop in the early years) to the most challenging (power distribution and industrialization later) – endeavors which generated income for the family and gave jobs to the community.<sup>32</sup>

It can clearly be seen in the above passage that the Nepomucenos felt that it was important to promote their descent from a Spanish priest. Additionally, it was deemed important to stress the ways in which the priest’s lover was “independent,” and to thereby imply that she held high status because of her own impressive actions and not just due to her connection to the priest. The Nepomucenos clearly did not believe that there was anything untoward about the relationship between Guillermo Masnou and Patricia Mercado, but nevertheless, sought to cover their bases by explicitly stating that the local people did not disapprove of the couple. This message is reiterated later when it is stated that “Juan’s family history was a mirror-image, as it were, of Teresa’s Spanish ancestry” because of “the relations of their Villasenor-Nepomuceno ancestors in Lucban, where priest-granduncles in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century fathered children.”<sup>33</sup> Once again, the Nepomucenos felt it was important to mention genealogical connections between themselves and Spanish priests who had children, but this time on the opposite side of their family. This was partly how they demonstrated their genealogical similarity to the nationally renowned oligarchs.

---

<sup>32</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 94-100.

<sup>33</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 111.

The Nepomucenos also put emphasis on the myriad ways in which Guillermo and Patricia contributed to the well-being of Pampanga residents, which is a common theme in terms of the way in which relatives of the Nepomucenos are described throughout *A Cofradia of Two*. In addition to the couples (Juan and Teresa plus Guillermo and Patricia) there are also passages in *A Cofradia of Two* that stress ways in which other members of the Nepomuceno family helped society. These include Juan's father, Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno, who it is stated "always had a soft spot for the poor and the less privileged" such that he was often "splitting his earnings [as mayor] between those asking for his help and the household budget of his wife. Charity being the leitmotif of their marriage, Juan was known to have never let anyone who sought his assistance go away empty-handed, even if the couple's financial constraints limited the amount of assistance."<sup>34</sup> This similarity in the descriptions of the Nepomucenos and their relatives in *A Cofradia of Two* also extends back to earlier generations. This is evidenced by the following passage:

Juan and Teresa's life mirrored the lifework and charity that Juan's ancestors had extended to their fellowmen. The first residence of Don Angel and Dona Rosalia de Miranda had also housed the first public dispensary in what was still the barrio Culiati in 1811. The following year, 1812, the first chapel was built of light materials for the spiritual needs of the people. By 1822, the de Mirandas had also established the first primary school for the town's children, and built the first *muscovado* mill and an alcohol distillery for the purpose of providing work and livelihood for the people. In 1829, the founders donated to the Catholic Church a 35-hectare *capellania* which consisted of sugar cane and rice lands in Culubasa, Mexico, Pampanga. It was the spirit and actualization of service to the church which their granddaughter Agustina Henson and her husband Pio Rafael Nepomuceno were to practice in their own years, the former eventually becoming one of the staunchest benefactors and supporters of the local Catholic Church.

---

<sup>34</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 104.

Too, this characteristic of philanthropy could be traced in the work of charity established by Juan's granduncle, who was a contemporary of his grandparents Agustina and Pio Rafael. Back in Lucban, in 1854, the younger brother of Pio Rafael, Pedro Nepomuceno Villasenor, founded the *Casa Asilo de Pobres de Lucban*, chronicled as one with "same Christian spirit within the Church...an association which deserved the highest praise from all civil and ecclesiastical authorities." It is a remarkable outward manifestation of faith as it is believed to be the first in the islands to be put up outside of Intramuros and by any native where "any person, male or female, who by reason of age, illness or madness is incapable of earning a living will be deemed poor and admitted as such but the poor of the town will have priority over those of other towns or provinces, who however may also be admitted."<sup>35</sup>

One again, the Nepomucenos are putting emphasis on the power and prestige that they historically wielded in Pampanga and especially within the Angeles area. The emphasis is not only on the political, economic, and religious might that they wielded, but on how their doing so benefitted the community. The Nepomucenos also repeatedly stress their ancestors' religious devotion as reason for why they did things that helped local people. While many of the actions described certainly would have been beneficial to the economy and other aspects of life in Pampanga, it is important due to the fact that the Nepomucenos sought to justify their ancestors' actions as benevolent and selfless even when they were clearly gaining substantial profit for themselves and where the advantages for the community are less readily apparent. For instance, the Nepomucenos did not merely open "an alcohol distillery" in 1822 for the purpose of drinking or because it was a profitable business venture, they did so because it served the "purpose of providing work and livelihood for the people" who lived in the area. Similarly, Pedro Nepomuceno opened a workhouse in the 1850s. While this was likely not without some benefits to the people who lived there and in reducing poverty,

---

<sup>35</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 105.

workhouses were often criticized (especially by modern audiences) as a means by which the rich exploited the poor by using them for something only slightly less offensive than slave labor. Charles Dickens's classic novel *Oliver Twist* has immortalized the dark side of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century workhouse in popular culture in terms of the living conditions and economic exploitation of their residents. Pedro Nepomuceno would have certainly benefited economically from his free workers who mostly had nowhere else to go, but his actions are described as "philanthropy" and an example of "Christian spirit," "which deserved the highest praise."<sup>36</sup> This is further evidence of the way in which the Nepomucenos sought to promote themselves based on the actions of their ancestors by constructing a benevolent elite heritage for themselves, regardless of whether or not those relatives are necessarily deserving of their praise.

The Nepomucenos continue to use superfluous language to describe their relatives' achievements throughout *A Cofradia of Two*, as exemplified from the following paragraphs of the text:

A century or so hence, in the continuum of spirit, labor, and sacrifice with their ancestors, Juan and Teresa comforted the sick and the dying, gave succor to the indigent of their town, provided for the care of the young, the orphaned, the aged in the community, extended the message of hope to prisoners and social outcasts, stretched the arm of reconciliation of the Church to fallen-away or lukewarm Catholics and offered material help for the repair, upkeep and maintenance of the church. By their own volition they reached out their hand and their blessings on behalf of those who needed them until the end of their common years, *ding capara dang tau*, their fellow human beings for whom the Nepomucenos opened their heart and home joyfully as a devoted testament to the Word of God.<sup>37</sup>

When we look back at the family life and lay religiosity that were lived and practiced by Juan and Teresa Nepomuceno, we see reflected in eloquent ways

---

<sup>36</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 105.

<sup>37</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 105-106.

the acts and the faith that attended the earliest, and the most noble in the tradition of *cofradías* in the Islands. Their lifework as husband and wife, as parents and as members of the Roman Catholic community lends itself to the most profound aspirations and achievements of the early Filipino faithful.<sup>38</sup>

### ***Destiny and Destination***

The Nepomucenos' method of self-promotion based on their genealogy is similar in *Destiny and Destination* to what they did in *A Cofradia of Two*; however, there is also a fundamental difference. *A Cofradia of Two* was almost entirely text and was comprised of lengthy narratives from various family members about the Nepomucenos and their heritage. *Destiny and Destination* certainly contains text, but it primarily uses glossy photographs and other illustrations to promote the Nepomucenos' important relatives and their contributions to society. Instead of a few relatively large narratives, as was the case in *A Cofradia of Two*, the Nepomucenos' self-promotions in *Destiny and Destination* are broken into many smaller accounts that each relate to the illustrations alongside the text that describes them. The overall topic of the book is ostensibly about the history of Holy Angel University, so many of the pages are devoted to that. There are, however, numerous references to the Nepomuceno family made throughout the text, many of which go far beyond what could reasonably be deemed necessary to describe the history of the school itself.

The foreword of *Destiny and Destination* is focused on the history of Holy Angel University since that is ostensibly the focus of the book. Several members of the Nepomuceno family are mentioned during this section. While these individuals are

---

<sup>38</sup> Mendoza, *A Cofradia of Two*, 109.



certainly promoted, they are described in ways that are plausible in the context of describing the history of Holy Angel. The following passages show the parts of the forward that mention the Nepomuceno family members. I put the Nepomuceno family member names in **bold** so their identities are clear. The foreword is written in the first person by Robert Tangingco, the author of *Destiny and Destination*.

The vision of the school's founder, philanthropist **Don Juan D. Nepomuceno** and of his friend and parish priest Fr. Pedro P. Santos (whom we now consider the school's co-founder and first director), has blazed the trail for many other laypersons to share in the Church's mission of providing Catholic education.<sup>39</sup>

Many people came forward to share their photographs and memories, but the two greatest contributors I had were **Javier J. Nepomuceno**, the boy who convinced **Don Juan** to open the school, and Ricardo V. Flores, the first principal who singlehandedly administered the school in its early years. Not only is **Javier** still alive; his memory is as sharp as it was way back in 1933. He can recall every detail of the school building and describe every house in the neighborhood. Having **Javier Nepomuceno** around while you're writing the history of Holy Angel is like researching the Revolution and you suddenly discover that Andres Bonifacio is still alive and available for an interview.<sup>40</sup>

I would like to thank my staff at the Center for Kapampangan Studies (especially layout artist Leonardo Calma) for bearing with me during the production of this book; the academic community of Holy Angel University for lending me materials; and the **Nepomucenos**, particularly **Mrs. Teresita N. Wilkerson**, for sharing their family albums and family anecdotes, and of course, for giving us Holy Angel University...Special thanks to the three University Presidents who honored me with the privilege of their friendship and leadership. First, **Sister Josefina G. Nepomuceno**, OSB, whose sheer force of character, spirituality and intellect gave us the faith and fortitude to not only survive but also triumph over the many calamities that hit the school during her term. Second, **Bernadette M. Nepomuceno**, whose bright, lithe spirit threw wide open the curtains at Holy Angel and let the sunshine in.<sup>41</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup> Tangingco and Mapua, *Destiny and Destination*, 7.

<sup>40</sup> Tangingco and Mapua, *Destiny and Destination*, 7-8.

<sup>41</sup> Tangingco and Mapua, *Destiny and Destination*, 8.

As can be seen in the “foreword” of *Destiny and Destination*, the Nepomuceno family is mentioned several times and their importance is stressed. The Nepomucenos were involved in creating Holy Angel University, so it is certainly important to mention them, but the references to their “sheer force of character,” “faith and fortitude,” and comparison to Andres Bonifacio seem a bit excessive. These are the first times that the Nepomucenos are mentioned in the text of *Destiny and Destination*.

Like *A Cofradia of Two*, *Destiny and Destination* is full of references to the Nepomuceno family and the positive contributions they have made to society and Holy Angel University. There are far too many of them to include in this thesis, so I am only including a few of the important ones that are particularly significant to the focus of the thesis. This means that the instances in which the Nepomucenos are portrayed in ways that imply that their genealogical connections make them similar to the oligarchs are more important and are, thereby, mentioned more frequently, than for instance, the fact that Josefina Nepomuceno was particularly adept at responding to the Mt. Pinatubo eruption.

As was the case in *A Cofradia of Two*, emphasis is repeatedly put on the religious, political, and economic significance of Juan de Dios Nepomuceno and his wife Teresa Gomez to the Angeles community. The following passages are some of the instances in *Destiny and Destination* where the significance of Juan and/or Teresa is so stressed:

Juan de Dios Nepomuceno, 41, mayor of Angeles in 1922-1925 and again in 1925-1928, was, by all accounts, a saintly, learned man who preferred going to

church and helping the poor to practicing his law profession and running his businesses.

Thus, it was his wife, Teresa Gomez Nepomuceno, a fiery, charismatic woman, who was mostly left to manage the family's ice plant (opened in 1921), electric plant (1923) and beverage factory (1928), not to mention the growing family (10 children). The eldest of the children was Javier, whom his father pampered with the best education that money could buy.<sup>42</sup>

For Don Juan, it was the obligation of the Church to ensure that Catholic children attended Catholic schools. He was probably the only lay person in Angeles at the time who had the will and the resources to help the Church fulfill this obligation.<sup>43</sup>

Don Juan Nepomuceno did in 1933 [founded Holy Angel], and he did it because he was a devout Catholic whose sense of mission coincided with his parish priest's advocacy for Catholic education and was catalyzed by his son's urgent need for a new school.<sup>44</sup>

Angeles' big day came in 1964, when it became the first city in the Kapampangan Region. The role of the school's founder, Don Juan Nepomuceno, in this history-making event cannot be underestimated: it was he who had built the town's electric plant, ice plant, and other businesses that spurred economic activity in the once-sleepy town.<sup>45</sup>

The campus development that started in the late 1950s was in response to the increase in enrollment resulting from the town's booming economy, which was in turn, spurred by the rapid expansion of Clark Air Base as the war in Indochina escalated.

Don Juan and son Geromin Nepomuceno rode on this momentum and made a bid to convert the Academy into a College, which was realized in 1961. Shortly thereafter, Angeles town became Angeles City, on January 1, 1964.

In 1965, the Nepomuceno family converted their 64-hectare agricultural land behind Holy Angel College into what would become the new city's premier residential subdivision, Villa Teresa (named after Don Juan's wife, Teresa G. Nepomuceno).

Within 10 years after Villa Teresa opened, a total of 78 subdivisions had mushroomed all over the city, mainly to accommodate the influx of US servicemen and their families. Villa Teresa became the new home and sanctuary of the old rich as well as the nouveau riche of Angeles, who needed to escape

<sup>42</sup> Tangingco and Mapua, *Destiny and Destination*, 32.

<sup>43</sup> Tangingco and Mapua, *Destiny and Destination*, 35.

<sup>44</sup> Tangingco and Mapua, *Destiny and Destination*, 43.

<sup>45</sup> Tangingco and Mapua, *Destiny and Destination*, 126.

from the encroachment of Americans (and the businesses that followed them) into the city's residential areas.<sup>46</sup>

Don Juan was awarded the Medal of the Order of St. Sylvester, the fifth-ranking papal order, for his active involvement in the Church.<sup>47</sup>

As in *A Cofradia of Two*, the ancestors of the Nepomuceno family are also mentioned repeatedly throughout the text of *Destiny and Destination*, as are their various noteworthy deeds. While there was reason to describe the ancestors of Juan and Teresa in *A Cofradia of Two* since a focus of that book was ostensibly about their family background, these references make less sense when they are made in *Destiny and Destination*. This is because *Destiny and Destination* is purportedly about the history of Holy Angel University as an educational institution, and many of the Nepomucenos' ancestors that are described were from decades or even a century or more before it existed. The first lengthy passage from the text in which the Nepomucenos' ancestors are described is listed below:

In 1829, when barrio Culiat officially separated from its matrix, San Fernando and became a town, founder Don Angel Panteleon de Miranda named it after its patron saint, *Los Angeles Custodios* (The Holy Guardian Angels), or Angeles for short (the similarly named city of Los Angeles in California was named after the *Nuestra Senora de los Angeles*).

The choice of name (Angeles) was actually named in honor of the founder himself, Don Angel (Angelo in some accounts). It was customary at the time to downplay the reference to a living person by picking a namesake among saints.

The next year, the town decided to adopt a more important saint, *Nuestra Senora del Santo Rosario* (Our Lady of the Holy Rosary) as its patroness. The Marian icon was the personal patron saint of Don Angel's wife, Dona Rosalia de Jesus.

The same year, Don Angel and Dona Rosalia had two processional images made, one for Our Lady of the Rosary (*La Naval*) and one for the titular patron saint, the Holy Angels (*Los Santos Angeles*).

---

<sup>46</sup> Tangingco and Mapua, *Destiny and Destination*, 131.

<sup>47</sup> Tangingco and Mapua, *Destiny and Destination*, 152.

After Don Angel died, the processional image of San Angelo was passed on to his son-in-law, Dr. Mariano Henson, who was married to the founder's only child, Juana Ildelfonsa de Miranda. (Dr. Henson is the same person cited by historians as the country's first layman to earn a doctorate in laws). After Mariano's death, the image was taken by his daughter Agustina Henson, wife of Pio Rafael Nepomuceno, the ex-seminarian from Lucban, Quezon who started the Nepomuceno clan in Angeles. Later the image was inherited by one of Pio's sons, Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno, who bequeathed it to his son by his second wife, Juan de Dios Nepomuceno, founder of Holy Angel University. After Don Juan's death in 1973, his daughter Teresita N. Wilkerson took care of it.<sup>48</sup>

Several generations of the Nepomucenos' elite ancestors are listed in the passage above, going back to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. While the reason for mentioning these ancestors can be justified by saying that they show the history of the name of Holy Angel University, the level of detail is certainly greater than what is necessary in order to make that point. Several important details from the lives of the Nepomuceno ancestors described are also mentioned, although none of these have any relevance to Holy Angel University. These include the fact that Angel Panteleon de Miranda founded Angeles City and that it is named after him, that Mariano Henson was the "first [Filipino] layman to earn a doctorate in laws," and that there was a close association between several generations of Nepomuceno ancestors and Catholicism. Thus, the Nepomucenos turned what could have been a simple sentence-long explanation of the origin of the Holy Angel name into a page-long promotion of their family members, very few of whom were even still alive when Holy Angel began.

The Nepomucenos' self-promotions in *Destiny and Destination* become more obvious later, evidenced by their clear statements that their family was historically the

---

<sup>48</sup> Tangingco and Mapua, *Destiny and Destination*, 49.

most important one in the region. This is best exemplified in a section of the book which is titled "A Nepomuceno Legacy: No other family has altered the town's history more." This pretentious title is followed by several paragraphs in which the Nepomucenos make no secret of the fact that they are promoting their family history, and do so by listing many of their politically, religiously, and economically significant ancestors and how these people left their mark on Angeles City's history. It is explicitly stated more than once in this section that the Nepomuceno family has more significance to local history than any other family. The following paragraphs are a passage from *Destiny and Destination* that demonstrate what I just described:

The Nepomucenos of Angeles all come from the marriage of a Tagalog ex-seminarian and a scion of the town's most influential family. Don Pio Rafael Nepomuceno y Villasenor of Lucban, Quezon and Maria Agustina Henson y Miranda, granddaughter of Don Angel Panteleon de Miranda, the founder of Angeles, and daughter of Don Mariano Henson y Paras, the first Filipino lay Doctor of Laws.

Pio Rafael married Agustina in 1847, became *gobernadorcillo* (mayor) of Angeles and died at age 40 (when Agustina was 30). One of his children, Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno, also became a mayor, in 1879-1881, at a time when mayors were called *capitan municipal* (hence he came to be known as Capitan Juan). When the Revolution broke out, he served as the town's *presidente municipal* (another synonym for mayor) and was elected delegate to the first Malolos Congress (1898) which framed the Constitution of the first Philippine Republic.

His son and namesake, Juan de Dios Nepomuceno, also became a mayor (in 1922-1925, reelected in 1925-1928) and delegate to the convention which drafted the 1935 Constitution.

Being an ex-seminarian like his grandfather, Don Juan was a saintly, charitable man, who was a lawyer, writer, businessman and thinker who dabbled in architecture and designed practical mechanisms. He designed a truss bridge on Lacandola Street (destroyed during the war), a water tank with an automated water supply regulator, and the stage at the main quadrangle (where the Center for Kapampangan Studies now stands).

His wife, the charismatic Dona Teresa Gomez Nepomuceno, was the granddaughter of Fray Guillermo Gomez Masnou, the scholarly Spanish Augustinian missionary who started an *escuela parroquia* (parochial school) in

Angeles (the same school that would eventually become Holy Family Academy). He was in Angeles when he wrote *El Mediquillo*, an article about *herbolarios*. Dona Teresa also descended from an ancient Kapampangan clan, the Pamintuans, whose forebears include Phelippe Sonsong and the Talangpaz Sisters, all possible candidates for beatification.

No other family in Angeles has influenced the life of the community more than the Nepomucenos have, but it is the branch of Juan De Dios Nepomuceno that has made the most significant and lasting contribution.

By putting up the town's first ice plant (in 1921), first electric plant (1923), first soft drinks factory (1928), first co-educational Catholic high school (1938), first subdivision (1965), and first commercial center (1968), Don Juan, his wife Dona Teresa and their ten children helped transform the town into the Kapampangan Region's first chartered city.<sup>49</sup>

In addition to the above descriptions in which the Nepomucenos refer to their various genealogical ties to 19<sup>th</sup>- and early 20<sup>th</sup>-century politicians, their descent from a Spanish priest, and the economical accomplishments of Juan and Teresa, there are also two photographs and a painting included within this section. These include a group photo of Juan and Teresa (together with their children) and an additional group photo of Pio Rafael Nepomuceno's living descendants in 1903 (he himself was long dead by then). The painting is a portrait of the Nepomucenos' priestly ancestor and is prominently displayed alongside the text with an accompanying caption so that the genealogical ties that the Nepomucenos have to the priest are unmistakable. The caption reads "Fray Guillermo Masnou, OSA, the paternal grandfather of Dona Teresa."<sup>50</sup> The repeated prominent references to the descent from the priest and to their other ancestors' contributions to Philippine society make it clear that the Nepomucenos are proud of their ancestors and want readers to come away with a

---

<sup>49</sup> Tangingco and Mapua, *Destiny and Destination*, 52-53.

<sup>50</sup> Tangingco and Mapua, *Destiny and Destination*, 52.

sense of the importance of the Nepomuceno lineage and to draw possible parallels between them and other elite families.

### **Conclusion (of Chapter 3)**

As has been shown from the text of *A Cofradia of Two and Destiny and Destination*, the Nepomucenos repeatedly promoted the ties of their ancestors to economic, religious, and political significance in ways that cause them to be perceived similarly to the prominently known ancestors of the oligarchic elites. The pretentious and superfluous manner in which the Nepomucenos described themselves makes it clear that their intent was to use their genealogy to construct an elite heritage for themselves that, while not false, is framed in a way that makes it appear significantly grander than was actually the case.



## CONCLUSION (OF THESIS)

As was shown in Chapter 1, the Nepomuceno family and its allied lines have held positions of power in the area of Pampanga that is now Angeles City since at least 1795. They are thoroughly entrenched in the political and economic structure of the city and its environs. As a result, they have genealogical connections to a wide array of politically, religiously, and economically important people that the Nepomucenos can use to construct a heritage for themselves that appears (to their intended audience) to rival that of the oligarchs. The Nepomucenos who collaborated extensively with Erlita Mendoza when she wrote *A Cofradia of Two*, with their interviews recorded in the book, were all children or children in-law of Juan de Dios Nepomuceno and Teresa Gomez. The political and economic power of the Nepomucenos remained strong in the Angeles area when *A Cofradia of Two* and *Destiny and Destination* were published, as did the family's prominent social position within the community. Because of their highly favorable and deeply entrenched local status and their past experiences in easily weathering controversies, the Nepomucenos would be in a position to feel very comfortable promoting their elite heritage in a somewhat exaggerated way.

In Chapter 2 it was established that the children and lovers of priests have endured a long history of discrimination in many parts of the Catholic world. The religious restrictions that discourage priests from engaging in sexual activity were variably enforced prior to the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Due in large part to the Council of Trent of 1545-1563, which was originally convened to combat the perceived menace posed by newly-risen Protestantism, the rules prohibiting clerical sex came to be rigorously

enforced in Europe. This gradually resulted in the common people perceiving clerical sex as an immoral affront to God. Children born to unwed parents were already discriminated against and poorly perceived due to long-held cultural attitudes in Europe. The children of priests faced this same type of perception, combined with the added layer of negativity associated with their descent from priests. By the 19<sup>th</sup> century these ideas had spread to most countries and colonies with significant Catholic populations. The dominant cultures in the United States and Europe both held sexually active priests and resulting children in very poor regard. This was when they both began to have a cultural influence on the Philippines, which was one of the few parts of the Catholic world where the ideas spread by the Council of Trent edicts had not taken root. American and European perceptions of clerical celibacy and children born out of wedlock remained poor in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, but have steadily become more favorable since. As of the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, it remains controversial for Catholic priests to marry, be sexually active, or have children, but there is some support for the idea. The perceptions of children born to unwed parents have substantially improved in both Europe and the United States since the 1970s. As of writing in 2016, very little stigma associated with the marital status of a person's parents remains in either location. This history of clerical celibacy and priests having children in other parts of the Catholic world was compared to the parallel situation in the Philippines.

It was shown that the religious culture of the Philippines in regard to clerical celibacy evolved in a different way from other parts of the Catholic world. By the 19<sup>th</sup> century, clerical sexual activity was widely accepted. There was no stigma associated

with women who had sexual relationships with priests, nor were there negative perceptions of any resulting children. The Spanish priests controlled many aspects of colonial life, including the government and the education system. They taught in a way that benefited the continuation of their extant system. This meant that they did not teach anything which portrayed or implied that there was anything wrong with clerical sexual activity or with Catholicism in general. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, it became increasingly popular for middle- and upper- class Filipinos, known as *ilustrados*, to study-abroad in Europe. These European-educated *ilustrados* became exposed to the sentiment described earlier in which European Catholics were adamantly opposed to both clerical sex and children born to unwed parents. The *ilustrados* also encountered other ideas, such as those espoused by mainstream Protestantism, which was generally anti-clerical and anti-Catholic. The *ilustrados* had previously become disillusioned with the colonial regime due to some heavy-handed measures taken by the Spanish priests in the Philippines, such as the execution of three popular native priests in 1872. When they returned to the Philippines following their time abroad, the *ilustrados* combined their simmering discontent at the conduct of the Spanish priests with the ideas they had encountered during their time in Europe. This spread and expanded the discontent toward Spanish priests in the Philippines and helped focus much of it on the latter's sexual conduct with Filipino women.

After the Americans conquered the Philippines in the Philippine-American War, they brought their own cultural ideas to the islands. Among these was their deep-seated dislike for sexually active priests and their long history of legal and social

discrimination towards children born to unwed parents. The Americans were shocked when they encountered Filipino women who were proud of the status they held as the unwed mothers of clerical offspring. There was scandal in the United States when the extent of the Spanish priests' sexual exploits began to become known. Prominent politicians, such as Theodore Roosevelt, suppressed reports that were considered particularly abhorrent to an American audience out of a desire to prevent a political conflict between Catholics and Protestants in his own country. Over the course of their four-decade occupation, the Americans spread their distaste for clerical sexual activity throughout the Philippine islands. This resulted in a decline in favorability toward the idea among many Filipinos and among the church hierarchy.

The change in attitudes towards clerical celibacy in the Philippines was not complete, such that in the context of the Nepomucenos' home province of Pampanga, the cultural attitudes towards clerical sex and resulting children remained similar to how they had been during the Spanish colonial period. The local people were known for their "deep religiosity," so their permissive attitudes towards clerical sex were not due to a lack of adherence to the Catholic faith on their part. This is the context in which the Nepomucenos promoted their descent from a Spanish priest in the books that they published.

In Chapter 3, the ways in which the Nepomucenos promoted their genealogy so it seemed similar to that of the oligarchic elites is described at length. The 19<sup>th</sup>- and 20<sup>th</sup>-century elite ancestors of the Nepomucenos are compared with those of well-known oligarchic elites so the ways in which they were similar and different are clear.

The bulk of the chapter is spent detailing the ways in which the Nepomucenos promoted themselves with particular emphasis placed on the voice of the Nepomucenos' books. This means that passages from the books that the Nepomucenos had written are shown so that the full context of what they said can be well-established. I then made interpretations as to what these passages mean in terms of how they advance the Nepomucenos' cause in relation to the thesis.

When the Nepomucenos published *A Cofradia of Two* and *Destiny and Destination*, they did so with a local Kapampangan audience as their target market. Since the local culture did not view clerical sexual relations or children born to priests out of wedlock negatively, there was no reason to conceal or downplay the Nepomucenos' descent from Fr. Masnou. This was a major reason why they could openly flaunt their descent from a priest at a Catholic institution without fear of adverse repercussions. Priests held high social and political standing during the Spanish colonial period and prominent oligarchs were known to descend from them. Priests held high social and political standing during the Spanish colonial period and prominent oligarchs were known to descend from them. This helps to explain why the Nepomucenos publicized their descent from a Spanish priest (and their genealogical links to other clergy). Doing so allowed the Nepomucenos to establish a link between themselves and a historic institution of religious authority that was already associated with oligarchic elites. The combination of these ties to Catholicism with their pretentious statements regarding their ancestors' significance in regional politics and economics were part of a campaign by the Nepomucenos to aggrandize their importance in the

eyes of their target audience, thereby projecting the Nepomucenos' power and standing. Thus, the Nepomucenos were able to construct an elite heritage for their family through the use of their genealogy.

## **APPENDIX A: GENEALOGICAL CHARTS AND TABLES**

Genealogical relationships are organized into pedigree charts showing direct ancestral lines and tables showing more distant connections.

### **Pedigree Charts**

The pedigree charts show the relationships between the people named in the most recent generation and their ancestors on both the maternal and paternal sides of their families. There are a total of 27 pedigree charts. Each chart begins with a person or group of siblings who are important to the thesis and shows six generations of their ancestors. Most people who have charts are described in Chapter 1, although others who are first mentioned elsewhere are likewise included. The numbers in Table 1 correspond with the numbers in the upper left corner and bottom of each pedigree chart.

**Table 1. Organization of Pedigree Charts**

<b>Chart Number</b>	<b>Chart Title</b>
1	Nepomuceno Part One
2	Villasenor
3	Gomez
4	Aquino Part One
5	Aquino Part Two
6	Romualdez
7	Valdes
8	Dayrit
9	Tayag
10	Henson
11	Nepomuceno Part Two
12	Wilkerson
13	Mendiola
14	del Rosario
15	Revelino
16	de Miranda
17	Gonzalez
18	Escaler
19	Madrigal
20	Marcos
21	Santos
22	Nepomuceno & Henson
23	Lopez
24	Masnou
25	de Sequera
26	Nepomuceno Part Three
27	Franco



1

Chart #

# 6 Generation Pedigree Chart

## Nepomuceno Part One

No. 1 on this chart is same  
as # S on Chart # 3.

The boxes by the male names may be  
filled in with a color or mark to in-  
dicate when all the work has been com-  
pleted for that family.

### Parents (3rd Generation)

#### 2 ☐ Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno

Birth July 12, 1852  
Place Angeles City, Pampanga, Philippines  
Married November 02, 1886  
Place Angeles Parish Church, Angeles, Pampanga, Philippines  
Death April 25, 1923  
Place

### (2nd Generation)

#### 1 ☐ Juan de Dios Nepomuceno

Birth March 08, 1892  
Place  
Married March 19, 1919  
Place  
Death April 22, 1973  
Place

#### Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez

##### SPOUSE

Birth August 12, 1893  
Death April 08, 1970

#### Children of #1 (1st Generation)

Javier Jesus Nepomuceno

Aureo Jose Nepomuceno

Patricio Carmelo Nepomuceno

Teresita Marcela Nepomuceno

Aurora Hilda Nepomuceno

Josefina Marcela Nepomuceno

Pedro Pablo Nepomuceno

#### 3 ☐ Aurea Paras

Birth August 24, 1865  
Place Angeles City, Pampanga, Philippines  
Death January 02, 1917  
Place Angeles City, Pampanga, Philippines

### Grandparents (4th Generation)

#### 4 ☐ Pio Rafael Nepomuceno

Birth July 11, 1817  
Place Quiotan, Santa Cruz, Extramuros de Manila, Philippines  
Married November 26, 1847  
Place Angeles Parish Church, Angeles, Pampanga, Philippines  
Death April 30, 1858  
Place

#### 5 ☐ Maria Agustina Henson

Birth August 28, 1828  
Place Culliat, San Fernando, Pampanga, Philippines  
Death July 27, 1905  
Place

#### 6 ☐ Francisco Paras

Birth  
Place  
Married  
Place  
Death  
Place

#### 7 ☐ Joaquina Gomez

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

### Great Grandparents (5th Generation)

#### 8 ☐ Pasqual Nepomuceno

Birth c. 1790  
Place Manila, Philippines  
Death 1838  
Place Manila, Philippines

#### 9 ☐ Salvadora Villaseñor

Birth 1798  
Place Lucban, Tayabas, Philippines  
Death 1845  
Place Lucban, Tayabas, Philippines

#### 10 ☐ Mariano Henson

Birth c. 1798  
Place San Fernando, Pampanga, Philippines  
Death July 25, 1848  
Place Angeles City, Pampanga, Philippines

#### 11 ☐ Juana Ildelfonsa de Miranda

Birth c. 1803  
Place San Fernando, Pampanga, Philippines  
Death February 07, 1845  
Place Angeles City, Pampanga, Philippines

#### 12 ☐ Perfecto Paras

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

#### 13 ☐ Maria Merced de Castro

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

#### 14 ☐ Fruto Gomez

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

#### 15 ☐ Leocadia Lising

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

### 2nd Great Grandparents (6th Generation)

#### 16 ☐ Estevan de la Cruz

Birth Pagsanjan, Laguna, Philippines

#### 17 ☐ Leonarda Franzisca Justa Llamas

Birth Pagsanjan, Laguna, Philippines

#### 18 ☐ Antonio Serapion Villaseñor

Birth

#### 19 ☐ Rosa de los Angeles

Birth

#### 20 ☐ Severino Henson

Birth

#### 21 ☐ Placida Paras

Birth c. 1777 in San Fernando, Pampanga, Philippines

#### 22 ☐ Angel Pantaleon de Miranda

Birth c. 1765 in San Fernando, Pampanga, Philippines

#### 23 ☐ Rosalia de Jesus

Birth c. 1765 in San Fernando, Pampanga, Philippines

#### 24 ☐

Birth

#### 25 ☐

Birth

#### 26 ☐

Birth

#### 27 ☐

Birth

#### 28 ☐

Birth

#### 29 ☐

Birth

#### 30 ☐

Birth

#### 31 ☐

Birth

2

# 6 Generation Pedigree Chart

Chart #

Villasenor

No. 1 on this chart is same  
as # 18 on Chart # 1.

The boxes by the male names may be  
filled in with a color or mark to indi-  
cate when all the work has been com-  
pleted for that family.

Parents (3rd Generation)

2 ☐ Cristobal Villasenor

Birth  
Place  
Married  
Place  
Death  
Place

Lived in Fujian, China prior to 1740, but unclear if born there

(2nd Generation)

1 ☐ Antonio Serapion Villasenor

Birth  
Place  
Married  
Place  
Death  
Place

Rosa de los Angeles

SPOUSE  
Birth  
Death

Children of #1 (1st Generation)

Juan Villasenor

Silvino Villasenor

Silvestre Villasenor

Salvadora Villasenor

Agustin Villasenor

3 ☐  
Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

Grandparents (4th Generation)

4 ☐ Jeronimo Venco

Birth  
Place Fujian, China  
Married  
Place  
Death  
Place

5 ☐ Juana Dinio

Birth  
Place Pagsanjan, Laguna, Philippines  
Death  
Place

6 ☐

Birth  
Place  
Married  
Place  
Death  
Place

7 ☐

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

Great Grandparents (5th Generation)

8 ☐

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

9 ☐

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

10 ☐

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

11 ☐

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

12 ☐

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

13 ☐

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

14 ☐

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

15 ☐

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

2nd Great Grandparents (6th Generation)

16 ☐

Birth

17 ☐

Birth

18 ☐

Birth

19 ☐

Birth

20 ☐

Birth

21 ☐

Birth

22 ☐

Birth

23 ☐

Birth

24 ☐

Birth

25 ☐

Birth

26 ☐

Birth

27 ☐

Birth

28 ☐

Birth

29 ☐

Birth

30 ☐

Birth

31 ☐

Birth

156

Enter continuation Chart  
number on dotted line

3

Chart #

# 6 Generation Pedigree Chart

Gomez

No. 1 on this chart is same  
as # S on Chart # 1.

The boxes by the male names may be  
filled in with a color or mark to indi-  
cate when all the work has been com-  
pleted for that family.

Parents (3rd Generation)

2 ☐ **Esteban Gomez**  
Birth August 03, 1856  
Place Angeles City, Pampanga, Philippines  
Married April 14, 1882  
Place  
Death June 20, 1907  
Place

(2nd Generation)

1 ☐ **Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez**

Birth August 12, 1893  
Place  
Married March 19, 1919  
Place  
Death April 08, 1970  
Place

**Juan de Dios Nepomuceno**

SPOUSE

Birth March 08, 1892  
Death April 22, 1973

Children of #1 (1st Generation)

Javier Jesus Nepomuceno

Aureo Jose Nepomuceno

Patricio Carmelo Nepomuceno

Teresita Marcela Nepomuceno

Aurora Hilda Nepomuceno

Josefina Marcela Nepomuceno

Pedro Pablo Nepomuceno

3 ☐ **Josefa Pamintuan**

Birth March 19, 1861  
Place  
Death September 1941  
Place

Grandparents (4th Generation)

4 ☐ **Nicolas Guillermo Masnou**  
Birth December 06, 1824  
Place Valladolid City, Valladolid, Spain  
Married  
Place  
Death May 16, 1895  
Place Convento de San Pablo, Manila, Philippines

5 ☐ **Patricia Mercado**  
Birth 1828  
Place Santo Tomas, Pampanga, Philippines  
Death April 04, 1900  
Place

6 ☐ **Vicente Pamintuan**

Birth  
Place  
Married  
Place  
Death  
Place

7 ☐ **Severina Pamintuan**

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

Great Grandparents (5th Generation)

8 ☐ **Pedro Masnou**  
Birth Ciudad De Manresa, Barcelona, Spain  
Place  
Death  
Place

9 ☐ **Ysabel Gomez**  
Birth 1796  
Place Valladolid City, Valladolid, Spain  
Death  
Place

10 ☐ **Agustin Mercado**

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

11 ☐ **Maria Canlas**

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

12 ☐ **Alejandro Pamintuan**

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

13 ☐ **Teodorica Dizon**

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

14 ☐

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

15 ☐

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

2nd Great Grandparents (6th Generation)

16 ☐ **Pedro Masnou**

Birth Viladran, Gerona, Spain

17 ☐ **Maria Palou**

Birth Viladran, Gerona, Spain

18 ☐ **Agustin Yledfonso Gomez** 24

Birth c. 1758 in L. De Pollos, Valladolid, Spain

19 ☐ **Juliana Yglesias** 24

Birth March 02, 1758 in Valladolid City, Valladolid, Spain

20 ☐

Birth

21 ☐

Birth

22 ☐

Birth

23 ☐

Birth

24 ☐

Birth

25 ☐

Birth

26 ☐

Birth

27 ☐

Birth

28 ☐

Birth

29 ☐

Birth

30 ☐

Birth

31 ☐

Birth

4

Chart #

# 6 Generation Pedigree Chart

## Aquino Part One

No. 1 on this chart is same  
as #\_\_\_ on Chart #\_\_\_.

The boxes by the male names may be  
filled in with a color or mark to indi-  
cate when all the work has been com-  
pleted for that family.

### Parents (3rd Generation)

2 ☐ Benigno Simeon Aquino, Jr.

Birth November 27, 1932  
Place Concepcion, Tarlac, Philippines  
Married August 01, 1955  
Place  
Death August 21, 1983  
Place Manila Airport, Paranaque, Philippines

### (2nd Generation)

1 ☐ Benigno Simeon Aquino, III

Birth February 08, 1960  
Place Manila, Philippines  
Married  
Place  
Death  
Place

### SPOUSE

Birth  
Death

### Children of #1 (1st Generation)

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

3 ☐ Corazon Sumulong Cojuangco

Birth January 25, 1933  
Place Paniqui, Tarlac, Philippines  
Death August 01, 2009  
Place Makati, Philippines

### Grandparents (4th Generation)

4 ☐ Benigno Simeon Aquino, Sr.

Birth September 04, 1894  
Place Murcia, Tarlac, Philippines  
Married December 06, 1930  
Place  
Death December 20, 1947  
Place Manila, Philippines

5 ☐ Aurora Aquino

Birth March 06, 1910  
Place  
Death  
Place

6 ☐ Jose Cojuangco

Birth 1896  
Place  
Married October 11, 1924  
Place Antipolo, Rizal, Philippines  
Death  
Place

7 ☐ Demetria Sumulong

Birth 1901  
Place  
Death  
Place

### Great Grandparents (5th Generation)

8 ☐ Seviliano Aquino

Birth April 20, 1874  
Place Angeles City, Pampanga, Philippines  
Death February 03, 1959  
Place Philippines

9 ☐ Guadalupe Quiambao

Birth  
Place  
Death December 1898  
Place

10 ☐ Agapito Aquino

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

11 ☐ ? Lampa

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

12 ☐ Melecio Cojuangco

Birth  
Place Malolos, Bulacan, Philippines  
Death  
Place

13 ☐ Tecla Chichioco

Birth  
Place Malolos, Bulacan, Philippines  
Death  
Place

14 ☐ Juan Sumulong

Birth December 27, 1875  
Place Antipolo, Morong, Philippines  
Death January 09, 1942  
Place Manila, Philippines

15 ☐ Maria Salome Sumulong

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

### 2nd Great Grandparents (6th Generation)

16 ☐ Braulio Aquino

Birth March 20, 1854

17 ☐ Maria Antonina Petrona Hipolito Aguilar

Birth

18 ☐ Pablo Quiambao

Birth

19 ☐ Lorenza Tanedo

Birth

20 ☐ M. Aquino

Birth

21 ☐ ? Santos

Birth

22 ☐

Birth

23 ☐

Birth

24 ☐ Yu-hwan Co

Birth

25 ☐ Antera Estrella

Birth

26 ☐ Juan Chichioco

Birth

27 ☐ Valeriana Jumaquio Valanezuela

Birth

28 ☐ Policarpio Sumulong

Birth 1852

29 ☐ Arcadia Marquez

Birth

30 ☐

Birth

31 ☐

Birth

5

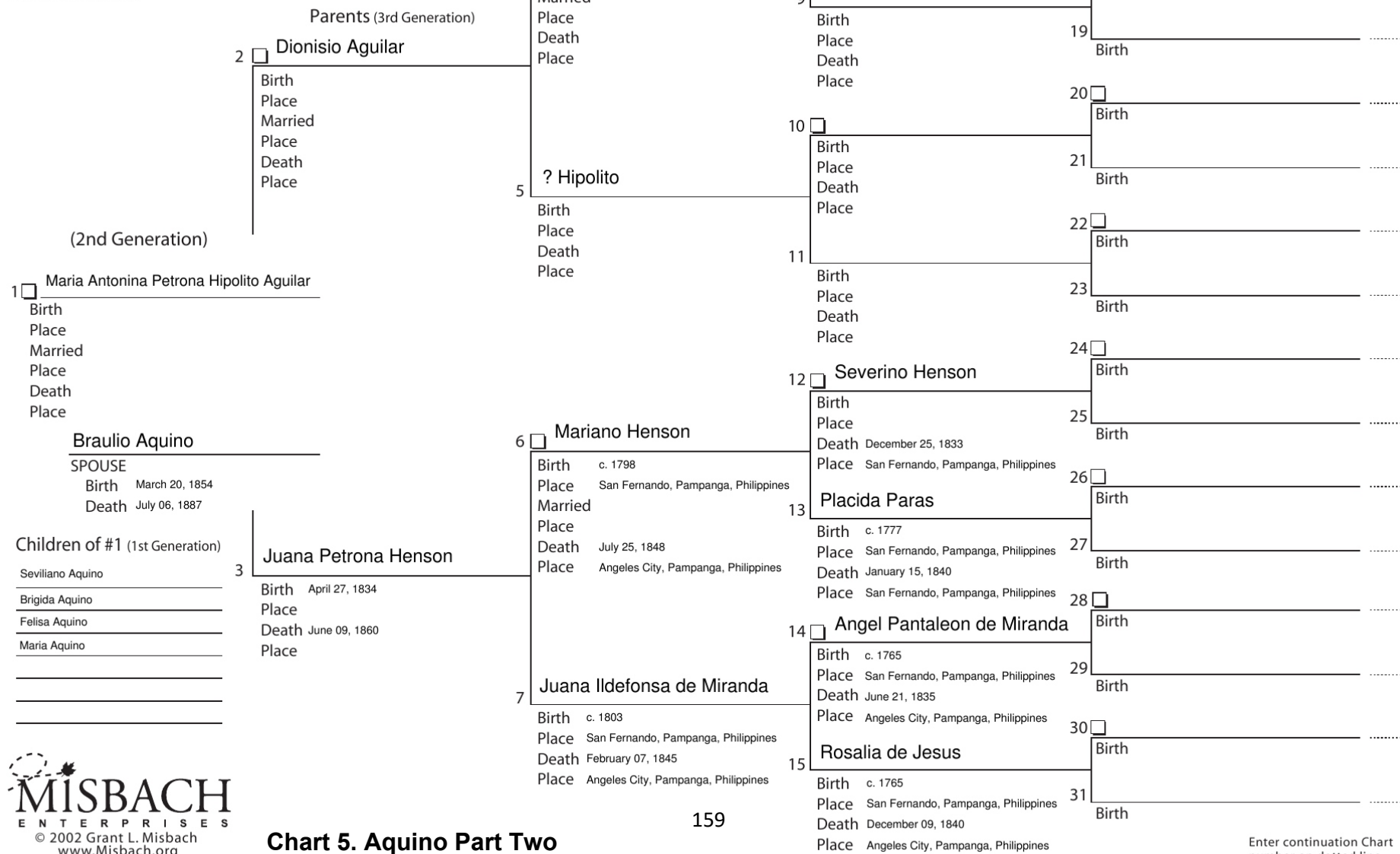
Chart #

# 6 Generation Pedigree Chart

## Aquino Part Two

No. 1 on this chart is same  
as # 17 on Chart # 4.

The boxes by the male names may be  
filled in with a color or mark to indi-  
cate when all the work has been com-  
pleted for that family.



6

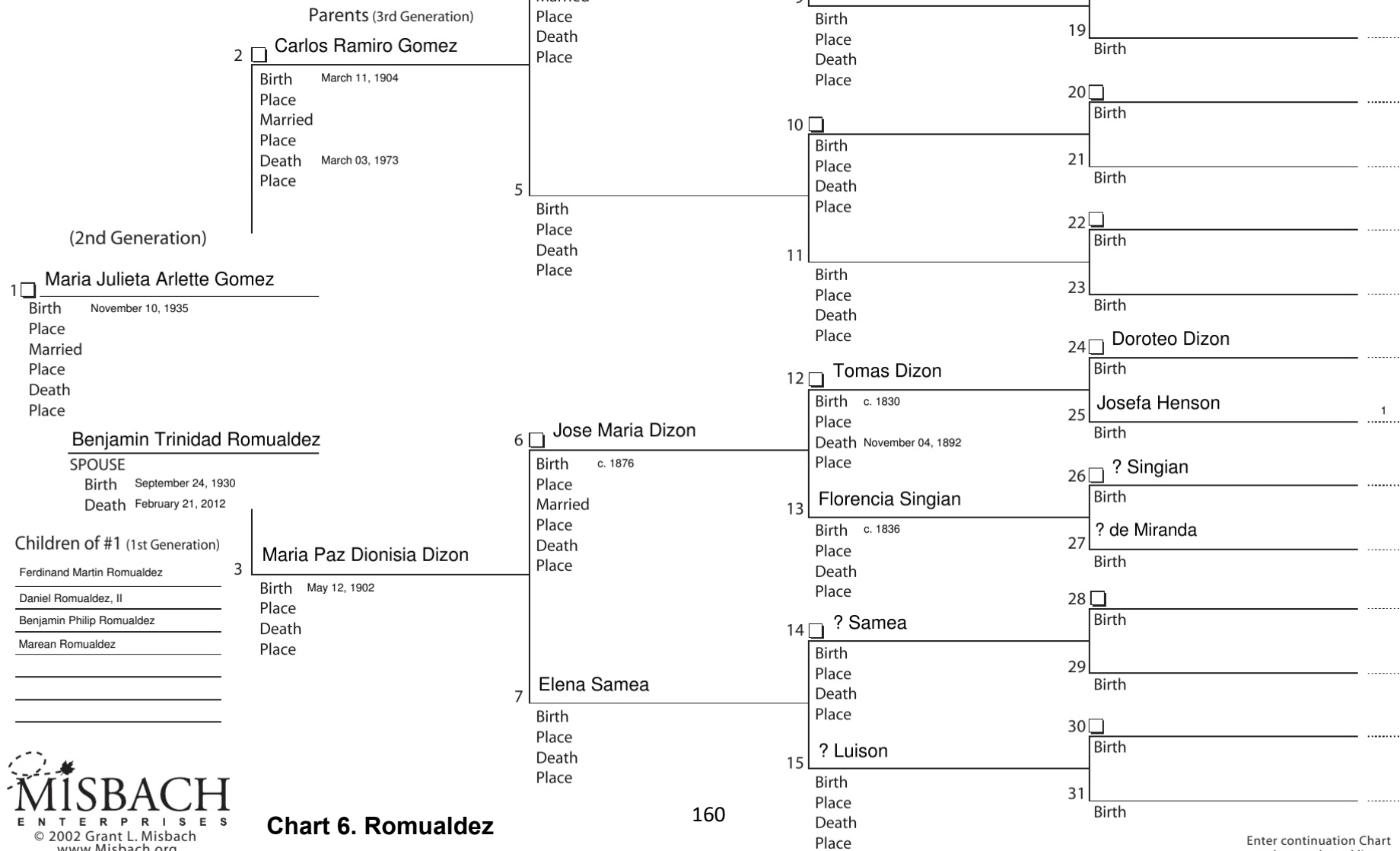
# 6 Generation Pedigree Chart

Chart #

Romualdez

No. 1 on this chart is same  
as #\_\_\_ on Chart #\_\_\_.

The boxes by the male names may be  
filled in with a color or mark to indi-  
cate when all the work has been com-  
pleted for that family.





7

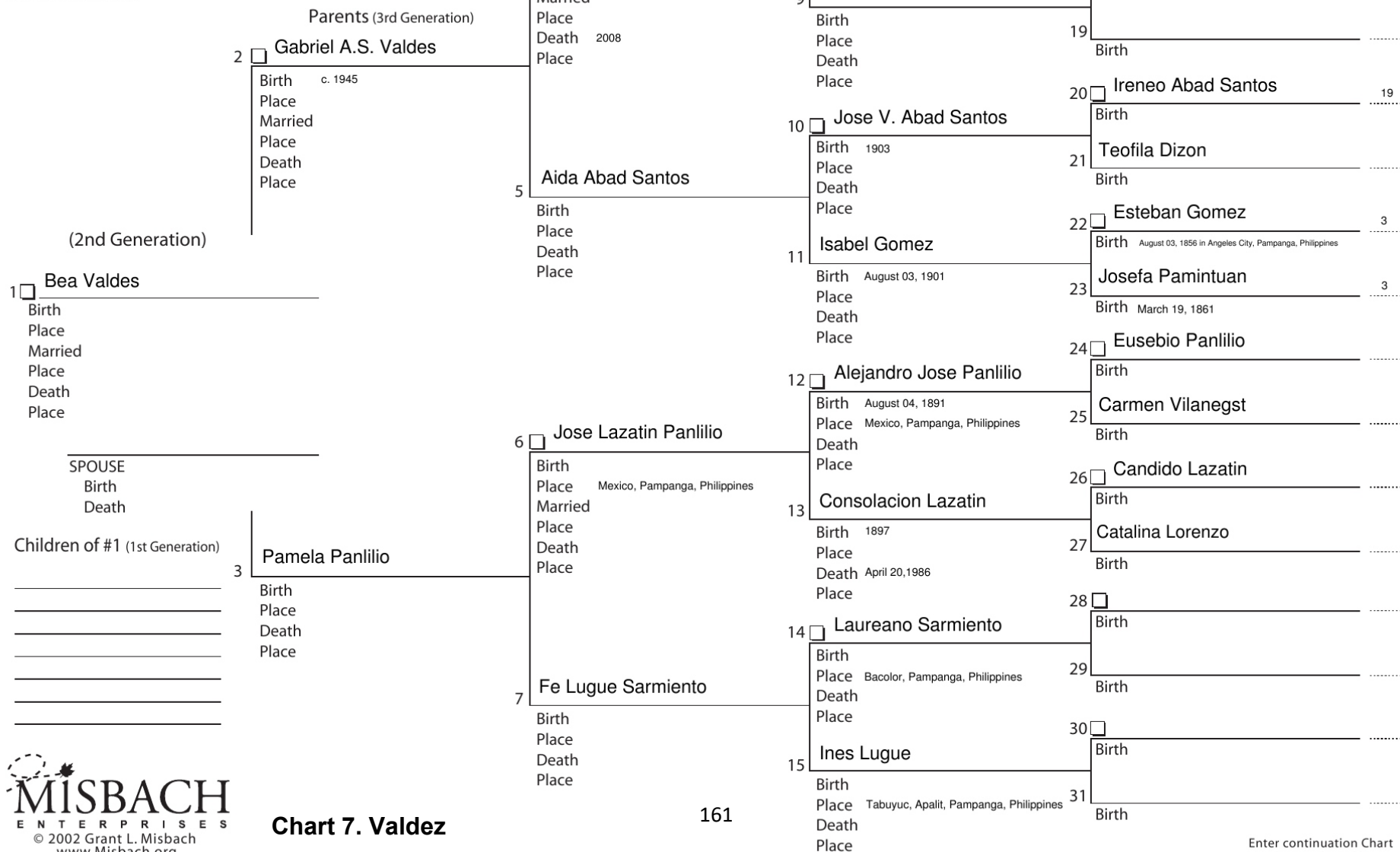
Chart #

# 6 Generation Pedigree Chart

**Valdes**

No. 1 on this chart is same  
as #\_\_\_ on Chart #\_\_\_.

The boxes by the male names may be  
filled in with a color or mark to indi-  
cate when all the work has been com-  
pleted for that family.



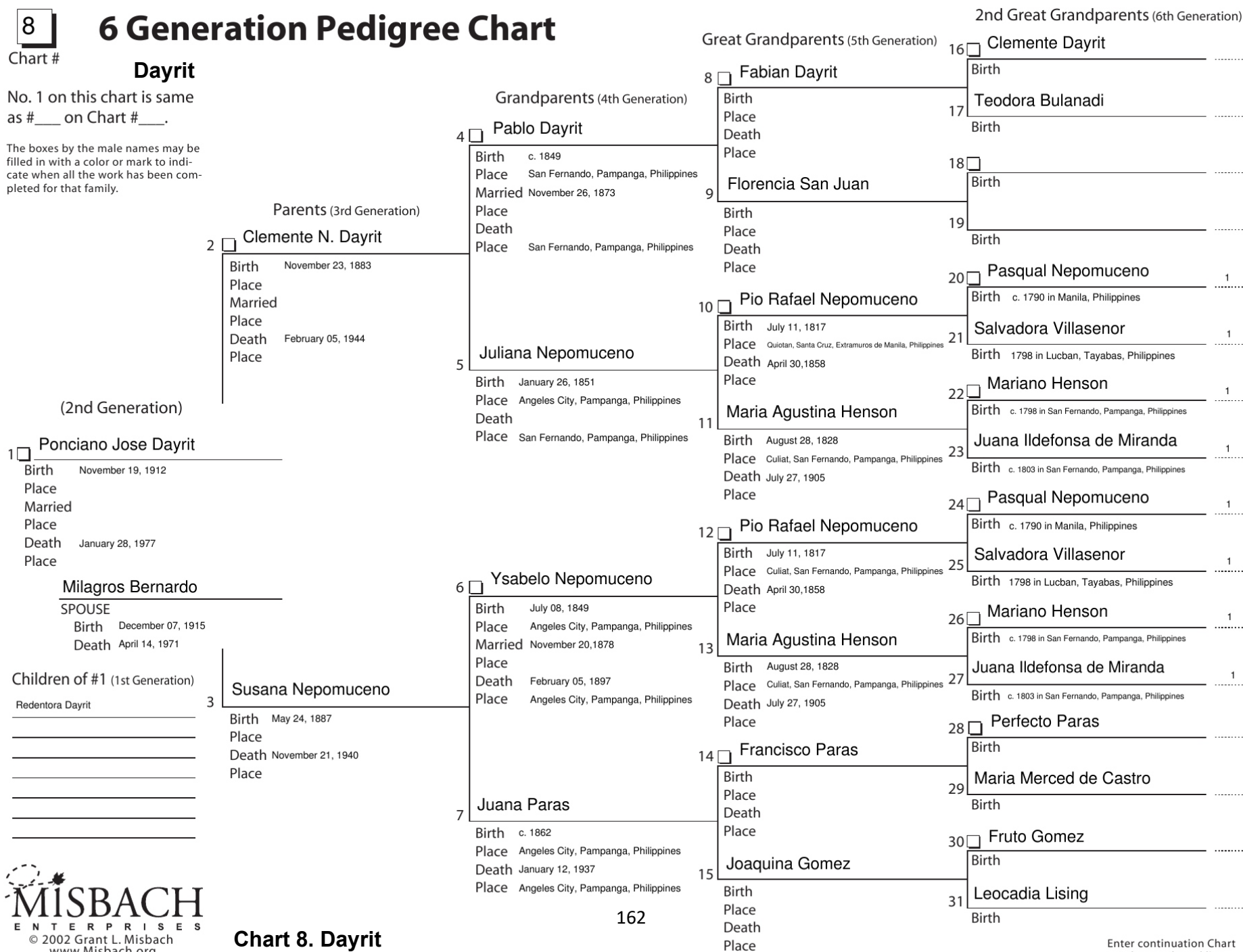
## 6 Generation Pedigree Chart

Chart #

## Dayrit

No. 1 on this chart is same as #      on Chart #      .

The boxes by the male names may be filled in with a color or mark to indicate when all the work has been completed for that family.





9

# 6 Generation Pedigree Chart

Chart #

Tayag

No. 1 on this chart is same  
as # \_\_\_ on Chart # \_\_\_.

The boxes by the male names may be  
filled in with a color or mark to indi-  
cate when all the work has been com-  
pleted for that family.

Parents (3rd Generation)

2 ☐ Renato D. Tayag

Birth October 09, 1915  
Place Angeles City, Pampanga, Philippines  
Married August 28, 1943  
Place  
Death August 13, 1985  
Place

(2nd Generation)

1 ☐ Manuel Jose Tayag

Birth January 15, 1945  
Place  
Married  
Place  
Death  
Place

Maria Teresa Marquez

SPOUSE

Birth January 10, 1951  
Death

Children of #1 (1st Generation)

Jaime Tayag

Carlos Tayag

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

3 ☐ Adoracion Suarez

Birth March 24, 1922  
Place  
Death  
Place

Grandparents (4th Generation)

4 ☐ Jose Faustino Tayag

Birth February 06, 1887  
Place  
Married November 05, 1910  
Place  
Death February 20, 1961  
Place

5 ☐ Maria Carmen Dayrit

Birth January 21, 1888  
Place  
Death July 15, 1924  
Place

6 ☐ Jose Pacifico Suarez

Birth September 25, 1895  
Place  
Married November 26, 1919  
Place  
Death July 20, 1942  
Place

7 ☐ Manuela Modesta Henson

Birth March 13, 1896  
Place  
Death March 29, 1965  
Place

Great Grandparents (5th Generation)

8 ☐

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

9 ☐

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

10 ☐ Pablo Dayrit

Birth c. 1849  
Place San Fernando, Pampanga, Philippines  
Death  
Place San Fernando, Pampanga, Philippines

11 ☐ Juliana Nepomuceno

Birth January 26, 1851  
Place Angeles City, Pampanga, Philippines  
Death  
Place San Fernando, Pampanga, Philippines

12 ☐

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

13 ☐

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

14 ☐ Jose Pedro Henson

Birth January 18, 1871  
Place  
Death January 31, 1947  
Place

15 ☐

Maxima Rosario Sadie

Birth September 02, 1871  
Place  
Death May 18, 1949  
Place

2nd Great Grandparents (6th Generation)

16 ☐

Birth

17 ☐

Birth

18 ☐

Birth

19 ☐

Birth

20 ☐ Fabian Dayrit

Birth

21 ☐ Florencia San Juan

Birth

22 ☐ Pio Rafael Nepomuceno

Birth

July 11, 1817 in Quiotan, Santa Cruz, Extramuros de Manila,

23 ☐ Maria Agustina Henson

Birth

August 28, 1828 in Culiati, San Fernando, Pampanga, Philippi

24 ☐

Birth

25 ☐

Birth

26 ☐

Birth

27 ☐

Birth

28 ☐ Mariano Vicente Henson

Birth

April 09, 1843

29 ☐ Maria Asuncion Leon Santos

Birth

c. 1848 in Mitla, Porac, Philippines

30 ☐ Simplicio Sadie

Birth

31 ☐ Heriberta Henson

Birth

March 16, 1843

10

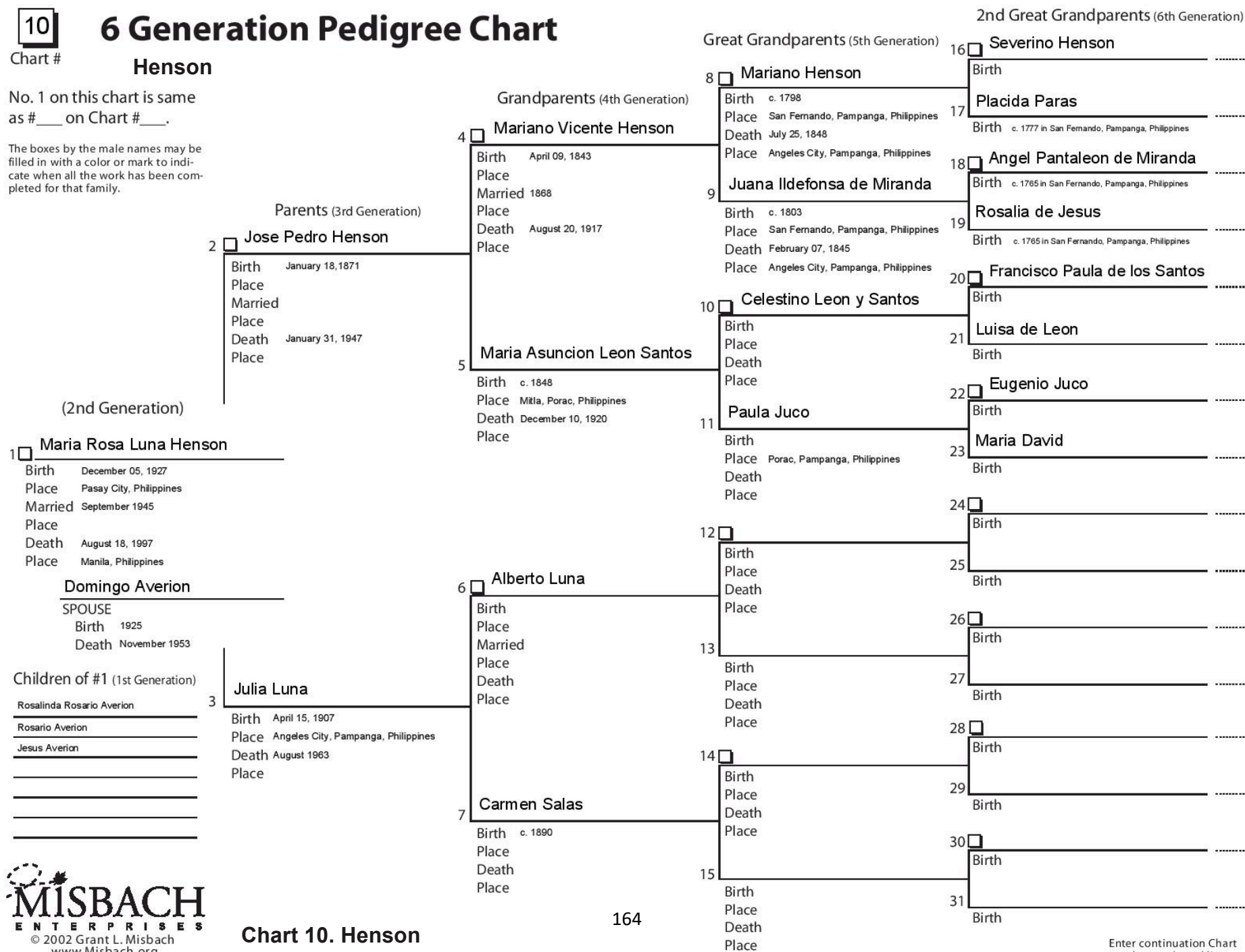
# 6 Generation Pedigree Chart

Chart #

Henson

No. 1 on this chart is same  
as #\_\_\_ on Chart #\_\_\_.

The boxes by the male names may be  
filled in with a color or mark to indi-  
cate when all the work has been com-  
pleted for that family.



11

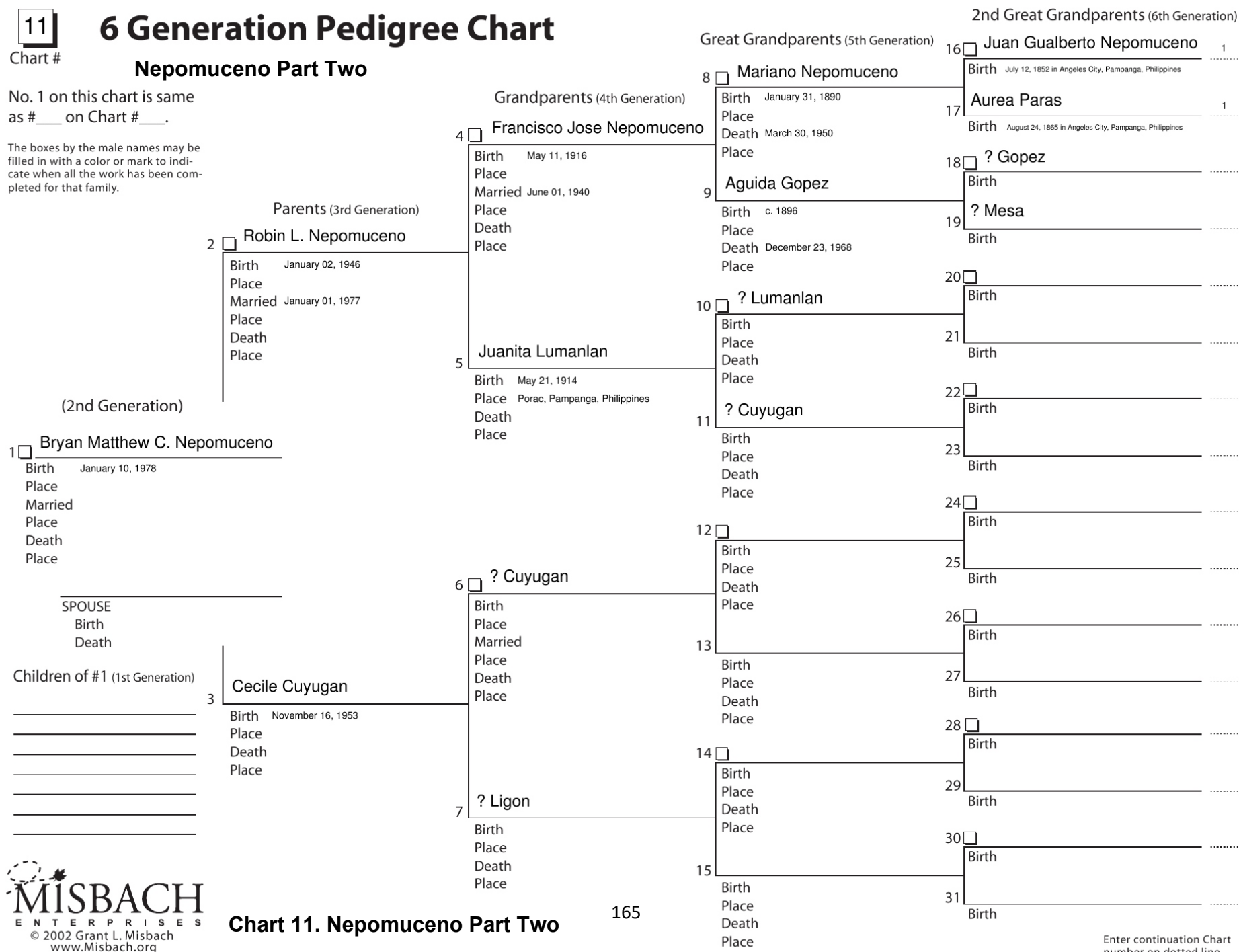
# 6 Generation Pedigree Chart

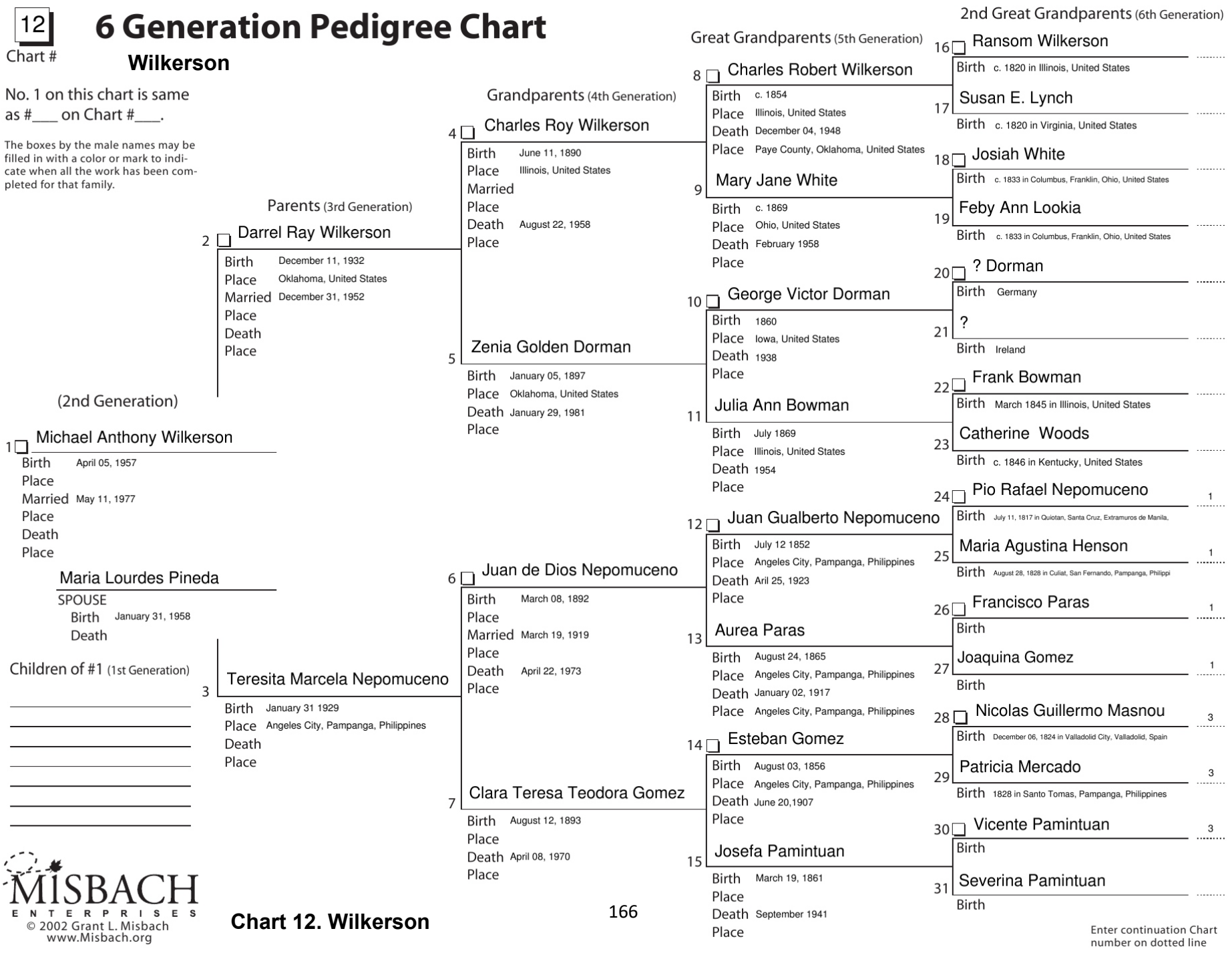
Chart #

## Nepomuceno Part Two

No. 1 on this chart is same  
as #\_\_\_ on Chart #\_\_\_.

The boxes by the male names may be  
filled in with a color or mark to indi-  
cate when all the work has been com-  
pleted for that family.





13

# 6 Generation Pedigree Chart

Chart #

Mendiola

No. 1 on this chart is same  
as #\_\_\_ on Chart #\_\_\_.

The boxes by the male names may be  
filled in with a color or mark to indicate  
when all the work has been completed  
for that family.

Parents (3rd Generation)

2 ☐ Ambrosio Mendiola

Birth December 07, 1867  
Place  
Married April 11, 1893  
Place  
Death May 28, 1926  
Place

(2nd Generation)

1 ☐ Jose Mendiola

Birth November 28, 1895  
Place  
Married June 22, 1918  
Place  
Death  
Place

Petronila Sandico

SPOUSE  
Birth  
Death

Children of #1 (1st Generation)

Archimedes Mendiola  
Virginia Mendiola  
Platon Mendiola  
Teresita Mendiola

3 ☐ Martina Dizon

Birth c. 1868  
Place  
Death c. 1958  
Place

Grandparents (4th Generation)

4 ☐ Simplicio Mendiola

Birth March 01, 1941  
Place  
Married January 16, 1867  
Place  
Death September 09, 1904  
Place

5 ☐ Juana Dizon

Birth c. 1836  
Place  
Death  
Place

Great Grandparents (5th Generation)

8 ☐ ? Mendiola

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

9 ☐ ? Tolentino

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

10 ☐ Doroteo Dizon

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

11 ☐ Josefa Henson

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

12 ☐

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

13 ☐

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

14 ☐

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

15 ☐

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

2nd Great Grandparents (6th Generation)

16 ☐

Birth

17 ☐

Birth

18 ☐

Birth

19 ☐

Birth

20 ☐

Birth

21 ☐

Birth

22 ☐ Severino Henson

Birth

23 ☐ Placida Paras

Birth c.1777 in San Fernando, Pampanga, Philippines

24 ☐

Birth

25 ☐

Birth

26 ☐

Birth

27 ☐

Birth

28 ☐

Birth

29 ☐

Birth

30 ☐

Birth

31 ☐

Birth

Chart 13. Mendiola

167

Enter continuation Chart  
number on dotted line



14

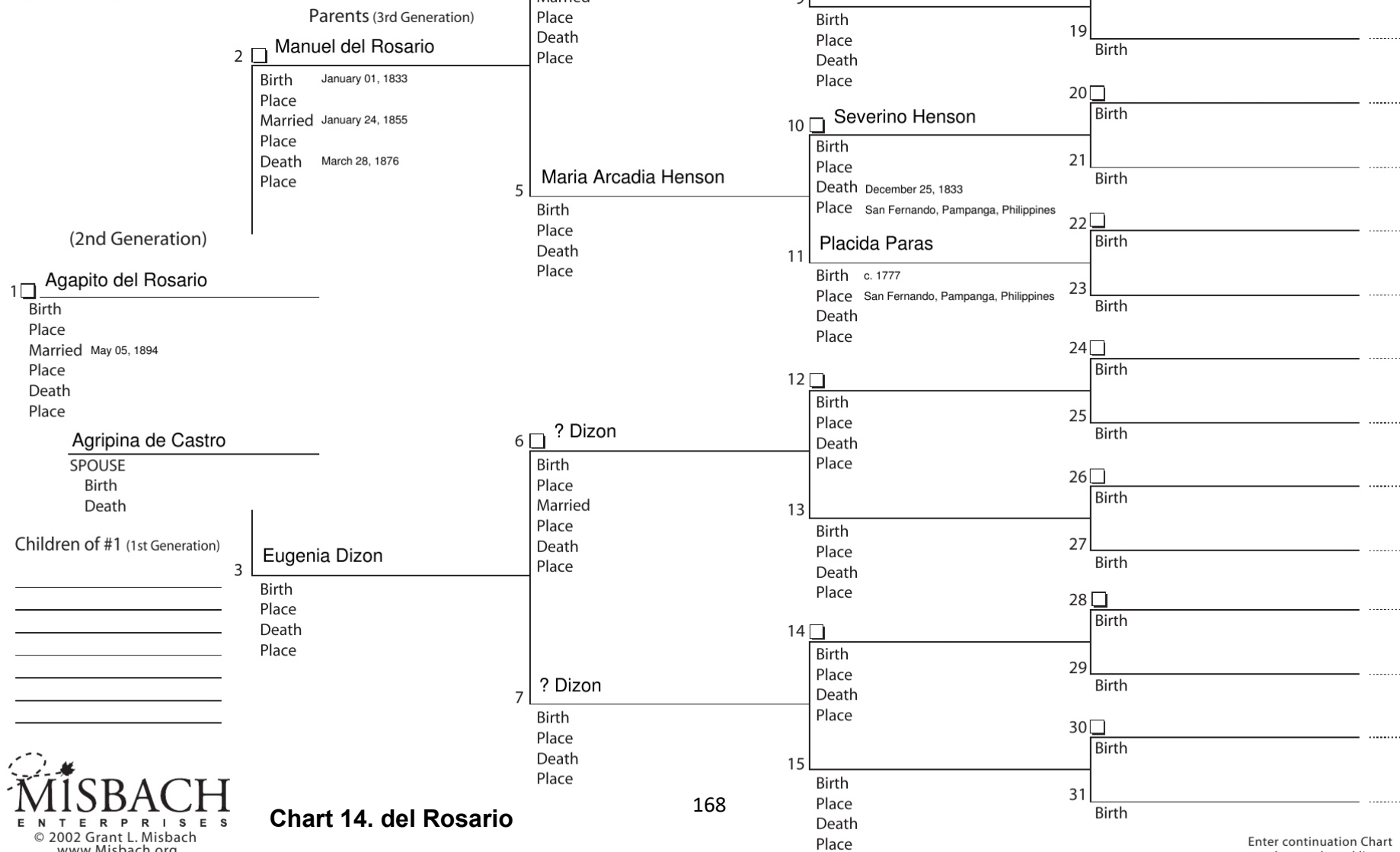
# 6 Generation Pedigree Chart

Chart #

del Rosario

No. 1 on this chart is same  
as #\_\_\_ on Chart #\_\_\_.

The boxes by the male names may be  
filled in with a color or mark to indi-  
cate when all the work has been com-  
pleted for that family.



15

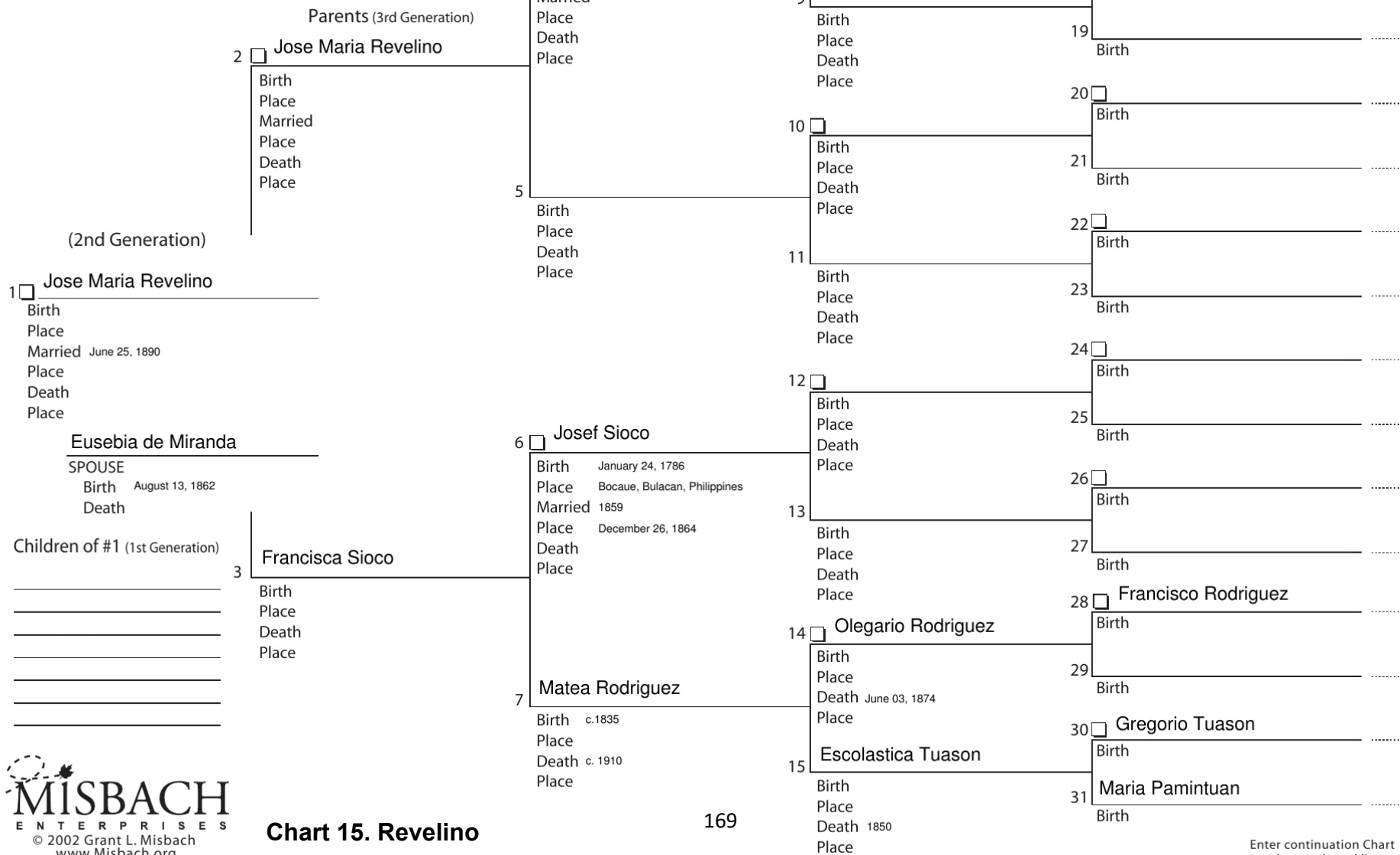
# 6 Generation Pedigree Chart

Chart #

Revelino

No. 1 on this chart is same  
as #\_\_\_ on Chart #\_\_\_.

The boxes by the male names may be  
filled in with a color or mark to indi-  
cate when all the work has been com-  
pleted for that family.



16

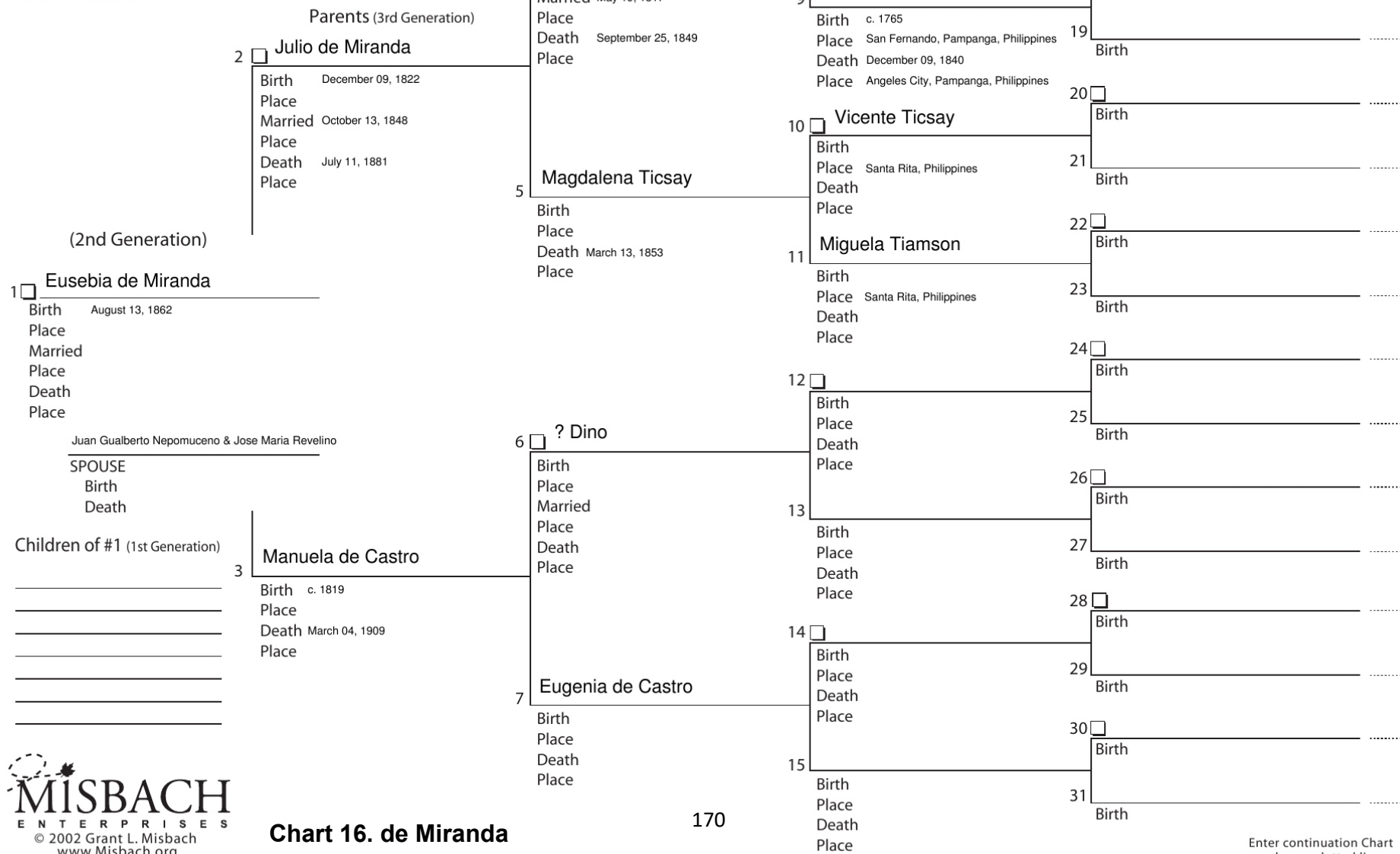
# 6 Generation Pedigree Chart

Chart #

de Miranda

No. 1 on this chart is same  
as #\_\_\_ on Chart #\_\_\_.

The boxes by the male names may be  
filled in with a color or mark to indi-  
cate when all the work has been com-  
pleted for that family.





17

Chart #

# 6 Generation Pedigree Chart

**Gonzalez**

No. 1 on this chart is same  
as #\_\_\_ on Chart #\_\_\_.

The boxes by the male names may be  
filled in with a color or mark to indi-  
cate when all the work has been com-  
pleted for that family.

Parents (3rd Generation)

 2 ☐ Augusto Gonzalez

Birth November 08, 1887  
Place  
Married February 22, 1930  
Place  
Death c. 1950  
Place

(2nd Generation)

 1 ☐ Andrew Gonzalez

Birth February 29, 1940  
Place Manila, Philippines  
Married  
Place  
Death January 29, 2006  
Place Dasmariñas, Cavite, Philippines

SPOUSE

Birth  
Death

Children of #1 (1st Generation)

 3 ☐ Rosario Lucia Arnedo-Cruz

Birth December 13, 1903  
Place Bacolor, Pampanga, Philippines  
Death May 18, 1977  
Place Santo Tomas, Pampanga, Philippines

Grandparents (4th Generation)

 4 ☐ Joaquin Gonzalez

Birth July 22, 1853  
Place Baliuag, Bulacan, Philippines  
Married June 22, 1884  
Place  
Death September 21, 1900  
Place Malate, Manila, Philippines

 5 ☐ Florencia Sioco

Birth November 17, 1860  
Place  
Death November 06, 1925  
Place Apalit, Pampanga, Philippines

 6 ☐ Macario Arnedo-Cruz

Birth 1868  
Place  
Married  
Place  
Death  
Place

 7 ☐ Maria Espiritu

Birth January 28, 1876  
Place  
Death April 12, 1934  
Place

Great Grandparents (5th Generation)

 8 ☐ Fausto Ambrosio Lopez

Birth December 07, 1811  
Place Valladolid City, Valladolid, Spain  
Death April 17, 1866  
Place Manila, Philippines

 9 ☐ Maria Amparo Gonzalez

Birth  
Place Baliuag, Bulacan, Philippines  
Death  
Place

 10 ☐ Josef Sioco

Birth January 24, 1786  
Place Bocaue, Bulacan, Philippines  
Death December 26, 1864  
Place

 11 ☐ Matea Rodriguez

Birth c. 1835  
Place  
Death c. 1910  
Place

 12 ☐ Joaquin Arnedo-Cruz

Birth  
Place  
Death February 22, 1897  
Place

 13 ☐ Maria de la Paz Sioco

Birth  
Place  
Death April 09, 1897  
Place

 14 ☐ Pedro Armayan Espiritu

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

 15 ☐ Ysabel Dungco

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

2nd Great Grandparents (6th Generation)

 16 ☐ Isidro Lopez

Birth

23

 17 ☐ Josefa Juliana Palomino

Birth

March 16, 1786 in Valladolid City, Valladolid, Spain

23

 18 ☐ Vicente Gonzalez

Birth

 19 ☐ Venancia de los Angeles

Birth

 20 ☐

Birth

 21 ☐

Birth

 22 ☐ Olegario Rodriguez

Birth

15

 23 ☐ Escolastica Tuason

Birth

15

 24 ☐ Manuel Arnedo de la Cruz

Birth

 25 ☐ Engracia Tanjutco

Birth

 26 ☐ Josef Sioco

Birth

January 24, 1786 in Bocaue, Bulacan, Philippines

 27 ☐ Juana Carlos

Birth

 28 ☐ ? Espiritu

Birth

 29 ☐ ? Macam

Birth

 30 ☐ ? Dungco

Birth

 31 ☐ ? Nocom

Birth

18

Chart #

# 6 Generation Pedigree Chart

## Escaler

No. 1 on this chart is same  
as #\_\_\_ on Chart #\_\_\_.

The boxes by the male names may be  
filled in with a color or mark to indi-  
cate when all the work has been com-  
pleted for that family.

### Parents (3rd Generation)

2 ☐ Jose Escaler, Sr.

Birth January 19, 1885  
Place Barrio Sulipan, Apalit, Pampanga, Philippines  
Married June 26, 1915  
Place  
Death February 17, 1927  
Place Manila, Philippines

### (2nd Generation)

1 ☐ Federico O. Escaler

Birth  
Place  
Married  
Place  
Death  
Place

SPOUSE  
Birth  
Death

Children of #1 (1st Generation)

3 ☐ Aurea de Ocampo

Birth August 24, 1894  
Place  
Death March 10, 1986  
Place

### Grandparents (4th Generation)

4 ☐ Manuel Escaler

Birth  
Place Balanga, Bataan, Philippines  
Married  
Place  
Death  
Place

5 ☐ Sabina Sioco

Birth 1858  
Place  
Death November 25, 1950  
Place

6 ☐ Basilio de Ocampo

Birth November 26, 1859  
Place  
Married November 16, 1893  
Place  
Death  
Place

7 ☐ Leoncia Hizon

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

### Great Grandparents (5th Generation)

8 ☐ Justo Escaler

Birth  
Place Balanga, Bataan, Philippines  
Death  
Place

9 ☐ Prisca Ines Rodriguez

Birth 1834  
Place  
Death May 03, 1894  
Place

10 ☐ Josef Sioco

Birth January 24, 1786 in Bocaue, Bulacan, Philippines  
Place Bocaue, Bulacan, Philippines  
Death December 26, 1864  
Place

11 ☐ Matea Rodriguez

Birth c. 1835  
Place  
Death c. 1910  
Place

12 ☐ Esteban de Ocampo

Birth c. 1828  
Place  
Death July 14, 1884  
Place

13 ☐ Geronima de Miranda

Birth September 29, 1830  
Place  
Death September 04, 1867  
Place

14 ☐ ? Hizon

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

15 ☐ ? Singian

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

### 2nd Great Grandparents (6th Generation)

16 ☐

Birth

17 ☐

Birth

18 ☐ Olegario Rodriguez

Birth

19 ☐ Escolastica Tuason

Birth

20 ☐

Birth

21 ☐

Birth

22 ☐ Olegario Rodriguez

Birth

23 ☐ Escolastica Tuason

Birth

24 ☐

Birth

25 ☐

Birth

26 ☐ Mariano Paz de Miranda

Birth

27 ☐ Magdalena Ticsay

Birth

28 ☐

Birth

29 ☐

Birth

30 ☐

Birth

31 ☐

Birth

19

# 6 Generation Pedigree Chart

Chart #

**Madrigal**

No. 1 on this chart is same  
as #\_\_ on Chart #\_\_.

The boxes by the male names may be  
filled in with a color or mark to indi-  
cate when all the work has been com-  
pleted for that family.

Parents (3rd Generation)

 2 ☐ Antonio Madrigal

 Birth 1921  
Place  
Married  
Place  
Death 2007  
Place

(2nd Generation)

 1 ☐ Maria Anna Consuelo Madrigal

 Birth April 26, 1958  
Place Manila, Philippines  
Married December 07, 2002  
Place Calatagan, Batangas, Philippines  
Death  
Place

Eric Jean Claude Dudoignon Valade

SPOUSE

 Birth France  
Death

Children of #1 (1st Generation)

 \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

 3 ☐ Amanda Abad Santos

 Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

Grandparents (4th Generation)

 4 ☐ Vicente Lopez Madrigal

 Birth  
Place Ligao, Albay, Philippines  
Married  
Place  
Death  
Place

 5 ☐  
Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

 6 ☐ Jose Abad Santos, Sr.

 Birth February 19, 1886  
Place San Fernando, Pampanga, Philippines  
Married September 21, 1918  
Place  
Death May 02, 1942  
Place Malabang, Lanao Del Sur, Philippines

 7 ☐ Amanda Hizon Teopaco

 Birth  
Place Pampanga, Philippines  
Death  
Place

Great Grandparents (5th Generation)

 8 ☐  
Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

 9 ☐  
Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

 10 ☐  
Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

 11 ☐  
Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

 12 ☐ Vicente Abad Santos

 Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

 13 ☐ Toribia Basco

 Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

 14 ☐ Pedro Teopaco

 Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

 15 ☐ Miguela Hizon

 Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

2nd Great Grandparents (6th Generation)

 16 ☐

Birth

 17 ☐

Birth

 18 ☐

Birth

 19 ☐

Birth

 20 ☐

Birth

 21 ☐

Birth

 22 ☐

Birth

 23 ☐

Birth

 24 ☐

Birth

 25 ☐

Birth

 26 ☐

Birth

 27 ☐

Birth

 28 ☐

Birth

 29 ☐

Birth

 30 ☐ Atanacio David Hizon

Birth

 31 ☐

Aniceta Hipolito

Birth

20

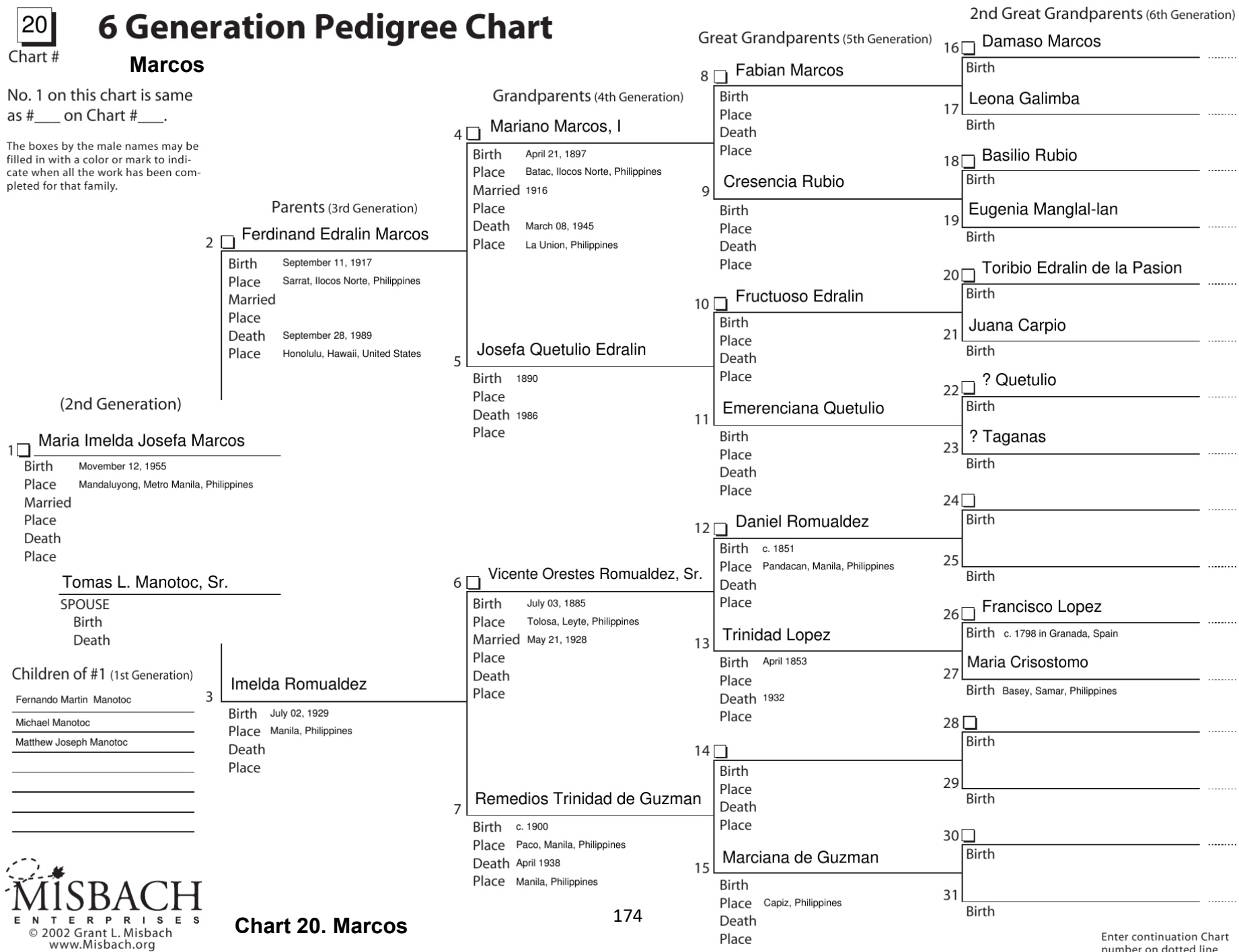
# 6 Generation Pedigree Chart

Chart #

Marcos

No. 1 on this chart is same  
as #\_\_\_ on Chart #\_\_\_.

The boxes by the male names may be  
filled in with a color or mark to indi-  
cate when all the work has been com-  
pleted for that family.



21

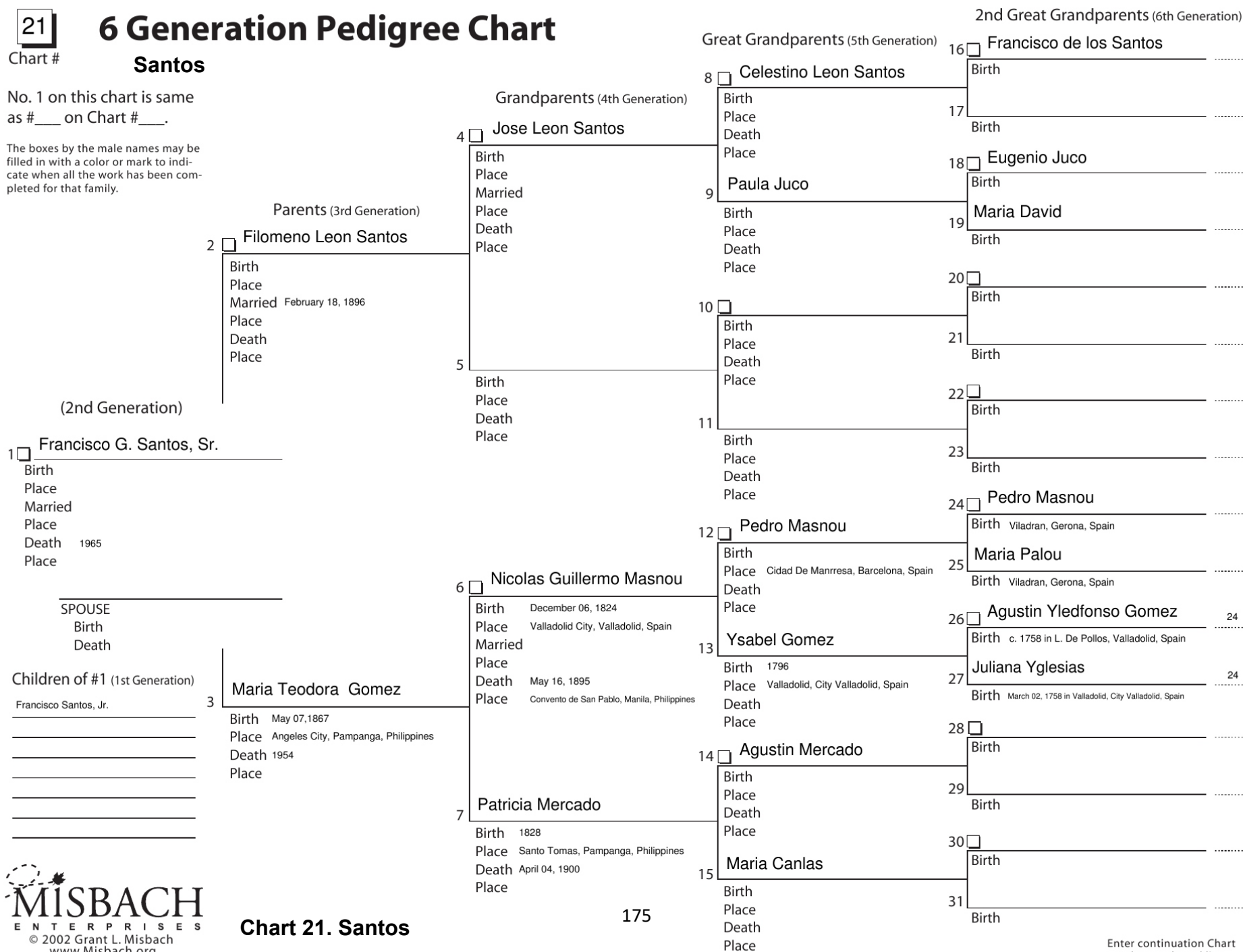
# 6 Generation Pedigree Chart

Chart #

Santos

No. 1 on this chart is same  
as #\_\_\_ on Chart #\_\_\_.

The boxes by the male names may be  
filled in with a color or mark to indi-  
cate when all the work has been com-  
pleted for that family.





22

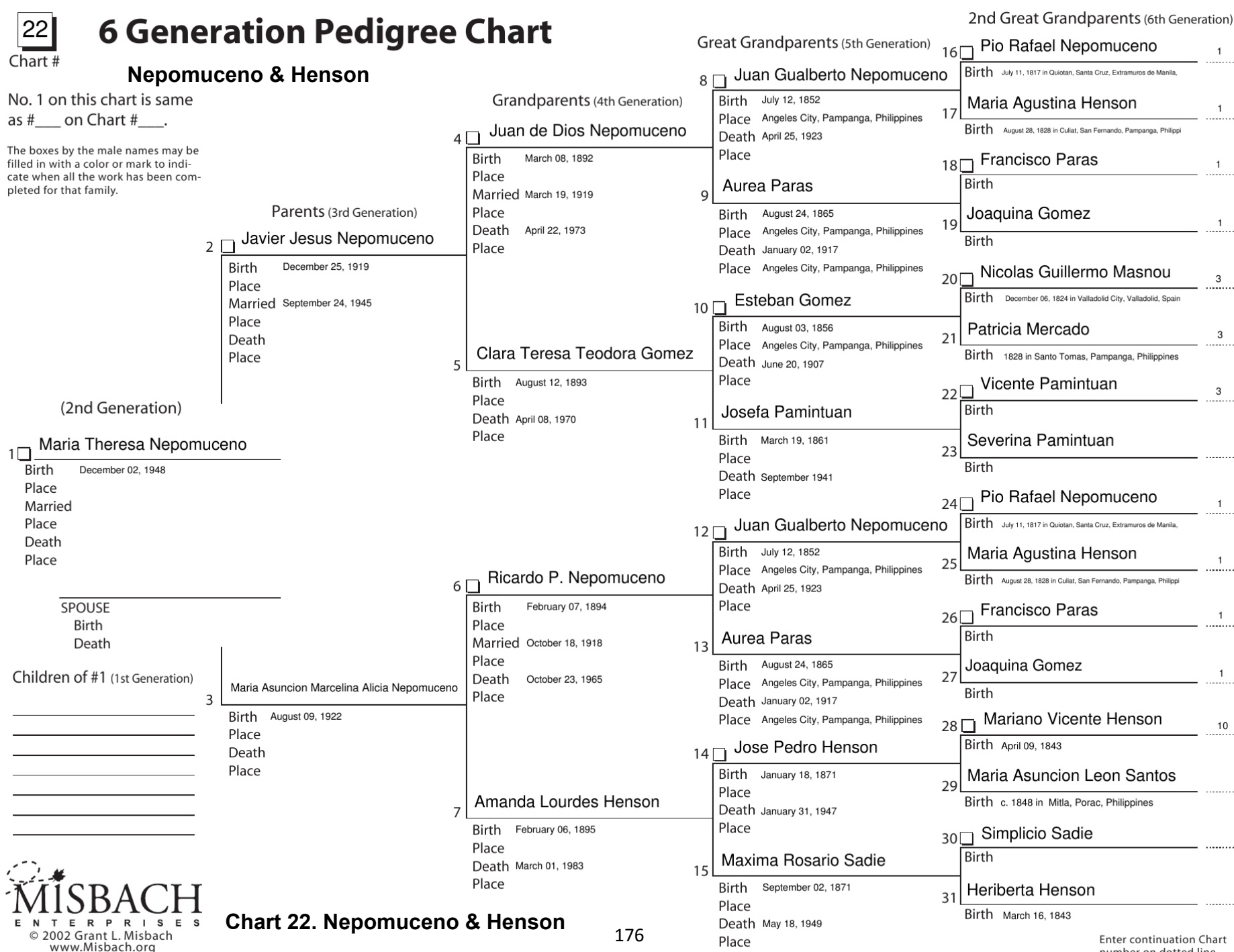
# 6 Generation Pedigree Chart

Chart #

## Nepomuceno & Henson

No. 1 on this chart is same  
as #\_\_ on Chart #\_\_.

The boxes by the male names may be  
filled in with a color or mark to indi-  
cate when all the work has been com-  
pleted for that family.



23

# 6 Generation Pedigree Chart

Chart #

Lopez

No. 1 on this chart is same  
as #\_\_\_ on Chart #\_\_\_.

The boxes by the male names may be  
filled in with a color or mark to indi-  
cate when all the work has been com-  
pleted for that family.

## Parents (3rd Generation)

2 ☐ Isidro Lopez

Birth  
Place  
Married November 30, 1805  
Place San Miguel-San Julian, Valladolid City, Valladolid, Spain  
Death  
Place

(2nd Generation)

1 ☐ Fausto Ambrosio Lopez

Birth December 07, 1811  
Place Valladolid City, Valladolid, Spain  
Married  
Place  
Death April 17, 1866  
Place Manila, Philippines

Maria Amparo Gonzalez

SPOUSE

Birth Baliuag, Bulacan, Philippines  
Death

Children of #1 (1st Generation)

Joaquin Gonzalez  
Soledad Gonzalez  
Jose Gonzalez  
Rita Gonzalez  
Carmen Gonzalez  
Francisco Gonzalez

3 ☐ Josefa Juliana Palomino

Birth March 16, 1786  
Place Valladolid City, Valladolid, Spain  
Death  
Place

## Grandparents (4th Generation)

4 ☐ Felipe Antonio Lopez

Birth May 26, 1722  
Place Valladolid City, Valladolid, Spain  
Married  
Place  
Death  
Place

5 ☐ Maria Josepha Lopez

Birth March 22, 1745  
Place Valladolid City, Valladolid, Spain  
Death  
Place

6 ☐ Josef Palomino

Birth  
Place  
Married March 21, 1775  
Place Catedral, Valladolid City, Valladolid, Spain  
Death  
Place

7 ☐ Nicolasa Maria Fernandez

Birth c. 1752  
Place Valladolid City, Valladolid, Spain  
Death  
Place

## Great Grandparents (5th Generation)

8 ☐ Blas Antonio Lopez

Birth c. 1695  
Place Palazuelo de Vedija, Valladolid, Spain  
Death  
Place

9 ☐ Manuela Recio

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

10 ☐ Bentura Lopez

Birth c. 1689  
Place Valladolid City, Valladolid, Spain  
Death  
Place

11 ☐ Antonia Francos

Birth June 12, 1705  
Place Valladolid City, Valladolid, Spain  
Death  
Place

12 ☐ Antolin Palomino

Birth September 02, 1726  
Place Valladolid City, Valladolid, Spain  
Death  
Place

13 ☐ Manuela Espana

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

14 ☐ Manuel Fernandez

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

15 ☐ Felipa Roman

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

## 2nd Great Grandparents (6th Generation)

16 ☐ Dionisio Lopez

Birth c. 1653 in Esguevillas de Esgueva, Valladolid, Spain

17 ☐ Antonia de Medina

Birth c. 1661 in Palazuelo de Vedija, Valladolid, Spain

18 ☐ Simon Recio

Birth

19 ☐ Ana Martin

Birth

20 ☐ Francisco Lopez Linares

Birth

21 ☐ Maria de Vega

Birth

22 ☐ Ysidro Francos

Birth

23 ☐ Manuela Gomez

Birth March 26, 1677 in Valladolid City, Valladolid, Spain

24 ☐ Miguel Palomino

Birth

25 ☐ Juana Corbello

Birth

26 ☐ Juan de Espana

Birth

27 ☐ Maria Santos

Birth

28 ☐ Pedro Fernandez

Birth

29 ☐ Ana Fernandez

Birth

30 ☐ Domingo Roman

Birth

31 ☐ Melchora Balcazar

Birth

24

# 6 Generation Pedigree Chart

Chart #

Masnou

No. 1 on this chart is same  
as #\_\_\_ on Chart #\_\_\_.

The boxes by the male names may be  
filled in with a color or mark to indi-  
cate when all the work has been com-  
pleted for that family.

Parents (3rd Generation)

2 ☐ Pedro Masnou

Birth  
Place Ciudad De Manresa, Barcelona, Spain  
Married June 30, 1821  
Place Santiago Apostol, Valladolid City, Valladolid, Spain  
Death  
Place

(2nd Generation)

1 ☐ Nicolas Guillermo Masnou

Birth December 06, 1824  
Place Valladolid City, Valladolid, Spain  
Married  
Place  
Death May 16, 1895  
Place Convento de San Pablo, Manila, Philippines

Patricia Mercado

SPOUSE

Birth 1828 in Santo Tomas, Pampanga, Philippines  
Death April 04, 1900

Children of #1 (1st Generation)

Lorenzo Gomez  
Esteban Gomez  
Pedro Agustin Gomez  
Isabel Gomez  
Higinia Gomez  
Maria Teodora Gomez

3 ☐ Ysabel Gomez

Birth 1796  
Place Valladolid City, Valladolid, Spain  
Death  
Place

Grandparents (4th Generation)

4 ☐ Pedro Masnou

Birth  
Place Viladran, Gerona, Spain  
Married  
Place  
Death  
Place

5 ☐ Maria Palou

Birth  
Place Viladran, Gerona, Spain  
Death  
Place

6 ☐ Agustin Yledfonso Gomez

Birth c. 1758  
Place L. De Pollos, Valladolid, Spain  
Married October 25, 1779  
Place San Lorenzo, Valladolid City, Valladolid, Spain  
Death  
Place

7 ☐ Juliana Yglesias

Birth March 02, 1758  
Place Valladolid City, Valladolid, Spain  
Death  
Place

Great Grandparents (5th Generation)

8 ☐

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

9 ☐

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

10 ☐

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

11 ☐

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

12 ☐

Manuel Remigio Gomez

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

13 ☐

Rosa De La Cruz Rollan

Birth c. 1733  
Place Villaverde de Medina, Valladolid, Spain  
Death  
Place

14 ☐

Manuel Yglesias

Birth January 13, 1736  
Place Valladolid City, Valladolid, Spain  
Death  
Place

15 ☐

Maria Nicolasa Villanueva

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

2nd Great Grandparents (6th Generation)

16 ☐

Birth

17 ☐

Birth

18 ☐

Birth

19 ☐

Birth

20 ☐

Birth

21 ☐

Birth

22 ☐

Birth

23 ☐

Birth

24 ☐ Carlos Gomez

Birth

25 ☐ Anastasia de Pollos

Birth c. 1697 in Pollos, Valladolid, Spain

26 ☐ Manuel Francisco Rollan

Birth September 19, 1707 in Nava del Ray, Valladolid, Spain

27 ☐ Francisca Galan

Birth c. 1708 in Nava del Ray, Valladolid, Spain

28 ☐ Geronimo Yglesias

Birth c. 1714 in Valladolid City, Valladolid, Spain

29 ☐ Ysabel Martinez

Birth Bercero, Valladolid, Spain

30 ☐ Pedro Billanueva

Birth

31 ☐ Manuela Molinero

Birth



25

Chart #

# 6 Generation Pedigree Chart

de Sequera

No. 1 on this chart is same  
as #\_\_\_ on Chart #\_\_\_.

The boxes by the male names may be  
filled in with a color or mark to indi-  
cate when all the work has been com-  
pleted for that family.

Parents (3rd Generation)

2 ☐ Joaquin de Sequera

Birth November 15, 1924  
Place Daet, Camarines, Philippines  
Married October 31, 1953  
Place Manila, Philippines  
Death  
Place

(2nd Generation)

1 ☐ Jose Enrique de Sequera

Birth October 06, 1954  
Place Manila, Philippines  
Married August 24, 1982  
Place Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada  
Death  
Place

Diane Julia Gillis

SPOUSE

Birth August 06, 1957 in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada  
Death

Children of #1 (1st Generation)

Enrique Miguel Joaquin de Sequera

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

3 ☐ Teresita Gomez

Birth January 05, 1929  
Place Tarlac, Philippines  
Death  
Place

Grandparents (4th Generation)

4 ☐ Jose de Sequera

Birth March 15, 1875  
Place Manila, Philippines  
Married  
Place  
Death March 26, 1941  
Place Manila, Philippines

5 ☐ Luisa Santarromana

Birth November 06, 1890  
Place Zamboanga, Philippines  
Death March 18, 1965  
Place Manila, Philippines

6 ☐ Enrique Pio Gomez

Birth July 12, 1892  
Place Angeles City, Pampanga, Philippines  
Married October 12, 1920  
Place Philippines  
Death February 14, 1962  
Place Manila, Philippines

7 ☐ Antonia Abad

Birth June 13, 1903  
Place Grandas de Salime, Asturias, Spain  
Death October 12, 1991  
Place Manila, Philippines

Great Grandparents (5th Generation)

8 ☐ Manuel de Sequera

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

9 ☐ Justa Gonzalez

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

10 ☐

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

11 ☐

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

12 ☐ Esteban Gomez

Birth August 03, 1856  
Place Angeles City, Pampanga, Philippines  
Death June 20, 1907  
Place

13 ☐ Josefa Pamintuan

Birth March 19, 1861  
Place  
Death September 1941  
Place

14 ☐ Antonio Abad

Birth  
Place Spain  
Death  
Place

15 ☐ Teresa Mendez de Villa Abille

Birth  
Place Spain  
Death  
Place

2nd Great Grandparents (6th Generation)

16 ☐ Diego de Sequera

Birth c. 1795 in San Roque, Gibraltar

17 ☐ Magdalena Otal de los Reyes

Birth

18 ☐

Birth

19 ☐

Birth

20 ☐

Birth

21 ☐

Birth

22 ☐

Birth

23 ☐

Birth

24 ☐ Nicolas Guillermo Masnou

Birth December 06, 1824 in Valladolid City, Valladolid, Spain

25 ☐ Patricia Mercado

Birth 1828 in Santo Tomas, Pampanga, Philippines

26 ☐ Vicente Pamintuan

Birth

27 ☐ Severina Pamintuan

Birth

28 ☐

Birth

29 ☐

Birth

30 ☐

Birth

31 ☐

Birth

26

Chart #

# 6 Generation Pedigree Chart

## Nepomuceno Part Three

No. 1 on this chart is same  
as #\_\_\_ on Chart #\_\_\_.

The boxes by the male names may be  
filled in with a color or mark to indi-  
cate when all the work has been com-  
pleted for that family.

### Parents (3rd Generation)

2 ☐ Armando Lorenzo Nepomuceno

Birth February 02, 1924  
Place  
Married February 21, 1944  
Place  
Death  
Place

### (2nd Generation)

1 ☐ Marco Armando Martin Nepomuceno

Birth November 05, 1953  
Place  
Married  
Place  
Death  
Place

### SPOUSE

Birth  
Death

### Children of #1 (1st Generation)

3 ☐ Paciencia David  
Birth May 12, 1923  
Place  
Death November 13, 1970  
Place

### Grandparents (4th Generation)

4 ☐ Ricardo P. Nepomuceno

Birth February 07, 1894  
Place  
Married October 18, 1918  
Place  
Death October 23, 1965  
Place

5 ☐ Amanda Lourdes Henson

Birth February 06, 1895  
Place  
Death March 01, 1983  
Place

6 ☐ ? David

Birth  
Place  
Married  
Place  
Death  
Place

7 ☐ ? Bernardo

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

### Great Grandparents (5th Generation)

8 ☐ Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno

Birth July 12, 1852  
Place Angeles City, Pampanga, Philippines  
Death April 25, 1923  
Place

9 ☐ Aurea Paras

Birth August 24, 1865  
Place Angeles City, Pampanga, Philippines  
Death January 02, 1917  
Place Angeles City, Pampanga, Philippines

10 ☐ Jose Pedro Henson

Birth January 18, 1871  
Place  
Death January 31, 1947  
Place

11 ☐ Maxima Rosario Sadie

Birth September 02, 1871  
Place  
Death May 18, 1949  
Place

12 ☐

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

13 ☐

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

14 ☐

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

15 ☐

Birth  
Place  
Death  
Place

### 2nd Great Grandparents (6th Generation)

16 ☐ Pio Rafael Nepomuceno

Birth July 11, 1817 in Quiotan, Santa Cruz, Extramuros de Manila,

17 ☐ Maria Agustina Henson

Birth August 28, 1828 in Culliat, San Fernando, Pampanga, Philippi

18 ☐ Francisco Paras

Birth

19 ☐ Joaquina Gomez

Birth

20 ☐ Mariano Vicente Henson

Birth April 09, 1843

21 ☐ Maria Asuncion Leon Santos

Birth c. 1848 in Mitla, Porac, Philippines

22 ☐ Simplicio Sadie

Birth

23 ☐ Heriberta Henson

Birth March 16, 1843

24 ☐

Birth

25 ☐

Birth

26 ☐

Birth

27 ☐

Birth

28 ☐

Birth

29 ☐

Birth

30 ☐

Birth

31 ☐

Birth

27

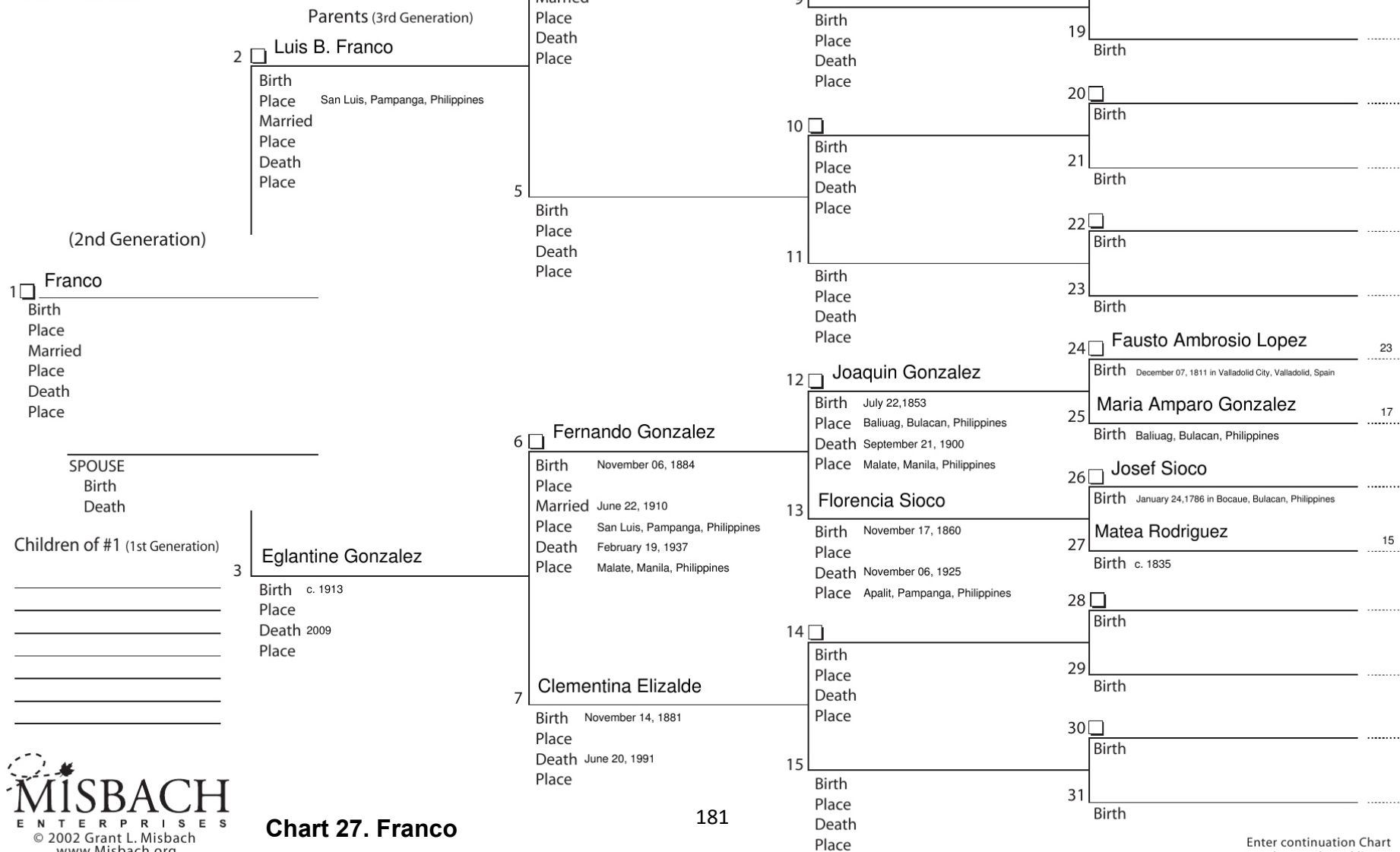
# 6 Generation Pedigree Chart

Chart #

Franco

No. 1 on this chart is same  
as #\_\_\_ on Chart #\_\_\_.

The boxes by the male names may be  
filled in with a color or mark to indi-  
cate when all the work has been com-  
pleted for that family.



## **Tables Showing Genealogical Links to Nationally Prominent People**

Table 2 shows the list of genealogical tables. They show the distant genealogical connections between the target Nepomucenos (who published *A Cofradia of Two*) and certain prominent people, such as presidents, who are mentioned in Appendix D: “Points that Could Merit Additional Research.” Pedigree charts are not used in this section because the relationships shown are distant to the point where pedigree charts would not be able to show the connections. Many of these people were members of oligarchic families, so their distant genealogical ties to the Nepomucenos are potentially significant. Each table starts with a person from Appendix D. The target Nepomucenos are listed last in the table and the rows in between show the connections between them and the corresponding number of times removed.

For easy reference, the connection numbers for the genealogical tables start where the pedigree charts left off. This means that since the pedigree charts are numbered 1-27, the genealogical tables have connection numbers 28-40. In some cases there are multiple genealogical links between the Nepomucenos involved in the creation of *A Cofradia of Two* and the prominent individuals mentioned here. Only one genealogical link (by blood, marriage, or combination thereof) is shown in each of these tables since there would otherwise be too many connections to list. Long-term relationships that resulted in children but were not formalized as marriage (such as that between Nicolas Masnou and Patricia Mercado) are included in this category as from a genealogical perspective the legal tie's existence or lack thereof makes no difference.

In some cases, there is either a closer or similar degree of separation relationship between the target Nepomucenos and the prominent people mentioned in the tables when non-marital sexual or romantic connections (that did not result in children) are also factored in. These are included (when relevant) in addition to the traditional genealogical connections to show additional ties that may be important between the target Nepomucenos and prominent people. A connection number that is followed by a “b” denotes a link between the target Nepomucenos and a prominent person that relies on such a non-marital relationship.

**Table 2. Organization of Tables Showing Genealogical Links to Nationally Prominent People**

<b>Connection Number</b>	<b>Chart Title (surname of first person in table)</b>
28	Aguinaldo
28b	Aguinaldo
29	Quezon
30	Laurel
31	Osmena
32	Roxas
33	Magsaysay
34	Ramos
35	Bonifacio
36	Malvar
37	Rizal
37b	Rizal
38	Luna
38b	Luna
39	Zobel de Ayala
40	Ejercito

**Table 3. Connection #28: Aguinaldo**

<b>No.</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Birth Year</b>	<b>Death Year</b>	<b>Significance/Occupation</b>	<b>Connection to Next Person</b>
1	Emilio Aguinaldo	1869	1964	President of the Philippines	Son
2	Carlos Aguinaldo				Brother
3	Cipriano Aguinaldo	1807			Father
4	Baldomero Aguinaldo	1869	1915	General and Minister of War during the Philippine-American War	Father
5	Leonar Aquinaldo	1899	1982		Wife
6	Enrique Virata	1899	1973	Doctor	Son
7	Luis Virata	1875			Son
8	Alejandra Virata				Sister
9	Nicolasa Virata				Wife
10	Mariano Alvarez	1818	1924	General in the Philippine-American War	Brother
11	Baltazara Alvarez				Mother
12	Gregoria de Jesus	1875	1943	Muse of the Katipunan	Wife
13	Julio Nakpil	1867	1960	Composer of the National Anthem of the Philippines	Brother
14	Ramon Melecio Nakpil				Father
15	Antonia Nakpil				Wife
16	Jose Escaler, Jr.			Chemist	Son
17	Aurea de Ocampo	1894	1984		Daughter
18	Basilio de Ocampo	1859		Medical doctor	Son
19	Geronima de Miranda	1830	1867		Daughter
20	Mariano Paz de Miranda		1849		Brother
21	Juana Idefonsa de Miranda	1803	1845		Mother
22	Maria Agustina Henson	1828	1905		Mother
23	Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno	1852	1923	Gobernadorcillo of Angeles	Father

**Table 3. (continued) Connection #28: Aguinaldo**

<b>No.</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Birth Year</b>	<b>Death Year</b>	<b>Significance/Occupation</b>	<b>Connection to Next Person</b>
24	Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	1892	1973	Holy Angel University Co-Founder; Mayor of Angeles	Father
25	Target Nepomucenos			Siblings who collaborated with Erlinda Mendoza when she wrote <i>A Cofradia of Two</i>	

**Table 4. Connection #28b: Aguinaldo**

No.	Name	Birth Year	Death Year	Significance/Occupation	Connection to Next Person
1	Emilio Aguinaldo, Sr.	1869	1964	President of the Philippines	Father
2	Emilio Aguinaldo, Jr.	1902			Father
3	? Aguinaldo				Father
4	Emilio Aguinaldo, IV				Boyfriend
5	Bernadette Lorraine Palisada Sembrano	1976		TV Host	Girlfriend
6	Benigno Simeon Aquino, III	1960		President of the Philippines	Son
7	Benigno Simeon Aquino, Jr.	1932	1983	Senator of the Philippines	Son
10	Benigno Simeon Aquino, Sr.	1894	1947	Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Philippines	Son
11	Servilliano Aquino	1874	1959	General in Aguinaldo's army	Son
12	Maria Antonina Petrona Hipolito Aguilar				Daughter
13	Juana Petrona Henson	1834	1860		Sister
14	Maria Agustina Henson	1828	1905		Mother
15	Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno	1852	1923	Gobernadorcillo of Angeles	Father
16	Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	1892	1973	Holy Angel University Co-Founder; Mayor of Angeles	Father
17	Target Nepomucenos			Siblings who collaborated with Erlinda Mendoza when she wrote <i>A Cofradia of Two</i>	



**Table 5. Connection #29: Quezon**

<b>No.</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Birth Year</b>	<b>Death Year</b>	<b>Significance/Occupation</b>	<b>Connection to Next Person</b>
1	Manuel Luis Quezon	1878	1944	President of the Philippines	Father
2	Maria Zeneida Quezon	1921			Wife
3	Felipe Buencamino		1949		1 <sup>st</sup> Cousin
4	Narcisa Buencamino				Wife
5	Jose de Leon				Brother
6	Ceferino de Leon			Member of the Malolos Congress	Father
7	Trinidad Roura de Leon	1900	1995	First Lady of the Philippines	Wife
8	Manuel Acuna Roxas*	1892	1948	President of the Philippines	Father
9	Gerardo Manuel Roxas	1924	1982	Senator of the Philippines	Husband
10	Judy Araneta				Daughter
11	J. Amado Araneta			Industrialist	Granduncle
12	Louise Cacho Araneta				Wife
13	Ferdinand Marcos, Jr.	1957		Governor of Batac	Son
14	Imelda Romualdez	1929		First Lady of the Philippines	Sister
15	Benjamin Trinidad Romualdez	1930	2012	Governor of Leyte	Husband
16	Maria Julieta Arlette Gomez	1935			Daughter
17	Maria Paz Dionisia Dizon	1902			Daughter
18	Jose Maria Dizon	1876			Son
19	Tomas Dizon	1830	1892		Son
20	Josefa Henson				Sister
21	Mariano Henson	1798	1848	Lay doctor	Father
22	Maria Agustina Henson	1828	1905		Mother
23	Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno	1852	1923	Gobernadorcillo of Angeles	Father

**\*Same as # 1 in chart #32, and #12 in chart #39**

**Table 5. (continued) Connection #29: Quezon**

<b>No.</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Birth Year</b>	<b>Death Year</b>	<b>Significance/Occupation</b>	<b>Connection to Next Person</b>
24	Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	1892	1973	Holy Angel University Co-Founder; Mayor of Angeles	Father
25	Target Nepomucenos			Siblings who collaborated with Erlinda Mendoza when she wrote <i>A Cofradia of Two</i>	

**Table 6. Connection #30: Laurel**

<b>No.</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Birth Year</b>	<b>Death Year</b>	<b>Significance/Occupation</b>	<b>Connection to Next Person</b>
1	Jose Paciano Laurel	1891	1959	President of the Philippines	Son
2	Jose Bayani Laurel, Jr.	1912	1998	Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Philippines	Husband
3	? Cojuangco				Sister
4	Corazon Cojuangco	1933	2009	President of the Philippines	Wife
5	Benigno Simeon Aquino, Jr.	1932	1983	Senator of the Philippines	Son
6	Benigno Simeon Aquino, Sr.	1894	1947	Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Philippines	Son
7	Servilliano Aquino	1874	1959	General in Aguinaldo's army	Son
8	Maria Antonina Petrona Hipolito Aguilar				Daughter
9	Juana Petrona Henson	1834	1860		Sister
10	Maria Agustina Henson	1828	1905		Mother
11	Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno	1852	1923	Gobernadorcillo of Angeles	Father
12	Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	1892	1973	Holy Angel University Co-Founder; Mayor of Angeles	Father
13	Target Nepomucenos			Siblings who collaborated with Erlinda Mendoza when she wrote <i>A Cofradia of Two</i>	

**Table 7. Connection #31: Osmena**

<b>No.</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Birth Year</b>	<b>Death Year</b>	<b>Significance/ Occupation</b>	<b>Connection to Next Person</b>
1	Sergio Osmena, Sr.	1878	1961	President of the Philippines	Husband
2	Estefania Chiong-Veloso		1918		Sister
3	Eleuteria Chiong-Veloso				Mother
4	? Chiong-Veloso				Mother
5	Rosario Singson	1899			Wife
6	Virgilio Rufino Gonzalez	1890	1953	Businessman and physician who owned a pharmacy	Son
7	Florencia Sioco	1860	1925		Sister
8	Francisca Sioco				Mother
9	Jose Maria Revelino				Husband
10	Eusebia de Miranda	1862			Wife
11	Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno	1852	1923	Gobernadorcillo of Angeles	Father
12	Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	1892	1973	Holy Angel University Co-Founder; Mayor of Angeles	Father
13	Target Nepomucenos			Siblings who collaborated with Erlinda Mendoza when she wrote <i>A Cofradia of Two</i>	

**Table 8. Connection #32: Roxas**

No.	Name	Birth Year	Death Year	Significance/Occupation	Connection to Next Person
1	Manuel Acuna Roxas*	1892	1948	President of the Philippines	Father
2	Gerardo Manuel Roxas	1924	1982	Senator of the Philippines	Husband
3	Judy Araneta				Daughter
4	J. Amado Araneta			Industrialist	Granduncle
5	Louise Cacho Araneta				Wife
6	Ferdinand Marcos, Jr.	1957		Governor of Batac	Son
7	Imelda Romualdez	1929		First Lady of the Philippines	Sister
8	Benjamin Trinidad Romualdez	1930	2012	Governor of Leyte	Husband
9	Maria Julieta Arlette Gomez	1935			Daughter
10	Maria Paz Dionisia Dizon	1902			Daughter
11	Jose Maria Dizon	1876			Son
12	Tomas Dizon	1830	1892		Son
13	Josefa Henson				Sister
14	Mariano Henson	1798	1848	Lay doctor	Father
15	Maria Agustina Henson	1828	1905		Mother
16	Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno	1852	1923	Gobernadorcillo of Angeles	Father
17	Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	1892	1973	Holy Angel University Co-Founder; Mayor of Angeles	Father
18	Target Nepomucenos			Siblings who collaborated with Erlinda Mendoza when she wrote <i>A Cofradia of Two</i>	

**\*Same as # 8 in chart # 29 and #12 in chart #39**

**Table 9. Connection #33: Magsaysay**

No.	Name	Birth Year	Death Year	Significance/ Occupation	Connection to Next Person
1	Ramon Magsaysay, Sr.	1907	1957	President of the Philippines	Brother
2	Genaro Magsaysay			Senator of the Philippines	Father
3	Genelyn Magsasay	1969		Actress	Mistress
4	Jose Bautista (AKA Ramon Revilla, Sr.)	1927		Senator of the Philippines	Father
5	Evelyn Bautista				Mother
6	Robert Vincent Jude Jaworski, Jr.	1971		Member of the Philippine House of Representatives from Pasig City	Husband
7	Mikaela Maria Antonia Cojuangco	1974		TV Host	Daughter
8	Jose Cojuangco, Jr.	1934		Member of the Philippine House of Representatives from Tarlac's 1 <sup>st</sup> District	Brother
9	Corazon Cojuangco	1933	2009	President of the Philippines	Wife
10	Benigno Simeon Aquino, Jr.	1932	1983	Senator of the Philippines	Son
11	Benigno Simeon Aquino, Sr.	1894	1947	Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Philippines	Son
12	Servilliano Aquino	1874	1959	General in Aguinaldo's army	Son
13	Maria Antonina Petrona Hipolito Aguilar				Daughter
14	Juana Petrona Henson	1834	1860		Sister
15	Maria Agustina Henson	1828	1905		Mother
16	Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno	1852	1923	Gobernadorcillo of Angeles	Father
17	Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	1892	1973	Holy Angel University Co-Founder; Mayor of Angeles	Father
18	Target Nepomucenos			Siblings who collaborated with Erlinda Mendoza when she wrote <i>A Cofradia of Two</i>	

**Table 10. Connection #34: Ramos**

No.	Name	Birth Year	Death Year	Significance/Occupation	Connection to Next Person
1	Fidel Ramos	1928		President of the Philippines	Son
2	Angela Valdez	1905	1978		Daughter
3	Crispina Marcos				Sister
4	Fabian Marcos			Mayor of Batac	Father
5	Mariano Marcos, I	1897	1945	Member of the Philippine House of Representatives from Ilocos Norte's 2nd District	Father
6	Ferdinand Marcos, Sr.	1917	1989	President of the Philippines	Husband
7	Imelda Romualdez	1929		First Lady of the Philippines	Sister
8	Benjamin Trinidad Romualdez	1930	2012	Governor of Leyte	Husband
9	Maria Julieta Arlette Gomez	1935			Daughter
10	Maria Paz Dionisia Dizon	1902			Daughter
11	Jose Maria Dizon	1876			Son
12	Tomas Dizon	1830	1892		Son
13	Josefa Henson				Sister
14	Mariano Henson	1798	1848	Lay doctor	Father
15	Maria Agustina Henson	1828	1905		Mother
16	Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno	1852	1923	Gobernadorcillo of Angeles	Father
17	Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	1892	1973	Holy Angel University Co-Founder; Mayor of Angeles	Father
18	Target Nepomucenos			Siblings who collaborated with Erlinda Mendoza when she wrote <i>A Cofradia of Two</i>	

**Table 11. Connection #35: Bonifacio**

No.	Name	Birth Year	Death Year	Significance/Occupation	Connection to Next Person
1	Andres Bonifacio	1863	1897	Founder of the Katipunan	Husband
2	Gregoria de Jesus	1875	1943	Muse of the Katipunan	Wife
3	Julio Nakpil	1867	1960	Composer of the National Anthem of the Philippines	Brother
4	Ramon Melecio Nakpil				Father
5	Antonia Nakpil				Wife
6	Jose Escaler, Jr.			Chemist	Son
7	Aurea de Ocampo	1894	1984		Daughter
8	Basilio de Ocampo	1859		Medical doctor	Son
9	Geronima de Miranda	1830	1867		Daughter
10	Mariano Paz de Miranda		1849		Brother
11	Juana Ildelfonsa de Miranda	1803	1845		Mother
12	Maria Agustina Henson	1828	1905		Mother
13	Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno	1852	1923	Gobernadorcillo of Angeles	Father
14	Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	1892	1973	Holy Angel University Co-Founder; Mayor of Angeles	Father
15	Target Nepomucenos			Siblings who collaborated with Erlinda Mendoza when she wrote <i>A Cofradia of Two</i>	



**Table 12. Connection #36: Malvar**

No.	Name	Birth Year	Death Year	Significance/Occupation	Connection to Next Person
1	Miguel Malvar	1865	1911	General in the Philippine army versus Spain and the United States	Father
2	Bernabe Malvar				Husband
3	Amelia Quintero				Daughter
4	Soledad Rizal				Sister
5	Maria Rizal				Mother
6	Mauricio Cruz				Father
7	Ysmael Cruz, I				Husband
8	Maria del Carmen Guerrero			Journalist	Wife
9	Angel Nakpil	1914	1980		Brother
10	Antonia Nakpil				Wife
11	Jose Escaler, Jr.			Chemist	Son
12	Aurea de Ocampo	1894	1984		Daughter
13	Basilio de Ocampo	1859		Medical doctor	Son
14	Geronima de Miranda	1830	1867		Daughter
15	Mariano Paz de Miranda		1849		Brother
16	Juana Ildelfonsa de Miranda	1803	1845		Mother
17	Maria Agustina Henson	1828	1905		Mother
18	Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno	1852	1923	Gobernadorcillo of Angeles	Father
19	Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	1892	1973	Holy Angel University Co-Founder; Mayor of Angeles	Father
20	Target Nepomucenos			Siblings who collaborated with Erlinda Mendoza when she wrote <i>A Cofradia of Two</i>	

**Table 13. Connection #37: Rizal**

<b>No.</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Birth Year</b>	<b>Death Year</b>	<b>Significance/Occupation</b>	<b>Connection to Next Person</b>
1	Jose Rizal	1861	1896	National Hero of the Philippines	Brother
2	Maria Rizal				Mother
3	Mauricio Cruz				Father
4	Ysmael Cruz, I				Husband
5	Maria del Carmen Guerrero			Journalist	Wife
6	Angel Nakpil	1914	1980		Brother
7	Antonia Nakpil				Wife
8	Jose Escaler, Jr.			Chemist	Son
9	Aurea de Ocampo	1894	1984		Daughter
10	Basilio de Ocampo	1859		Medical doctor	Son
11	Geronima de Miranda	1830	1867		Daughter
12	Mariano Paz de Miranda		1849		Brother
13	Juana Idefonsa de Miranda	1803	1845		Mother
14	Maria Agustina Henson	1828	1905		Mother
15	Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno	1852	1923	Gobernadorcillo of Angeles	Father
16	Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	1892	1973	Holy Angel University Co-Founder; Mayor of Angeles	Father
17	Target Nepomucenos			Siblings who collaborated with Erlinda Mendoza when she wrote <i>A Cofradia of Two</i>	

**Table 14. Connection #37b: Rizal**

No.	Name	Birth Year	Death Year	Significance/Occupation	Connection to Next Person
1	Jose Rizal	1861	1896	National Hero of the Philippines	Boyfriend
2	Leonor Rivera	1867	1893	Inspiration for Jose Rizal's Maria Clara character in <i>Noli Me Tangere</i>	Mother
3	Carlos Kipping, Sr.	1893			Husband
4	Lourdes Romulo				Sister
5	Gilberto Romulo				Father
6	Alberto G. Romulo	1933		Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Philippines	Father
7	Roman Romulo				Husband
8	Shalani Carla San Roman Soledad	1980		Member of the Valenzuela City Council from the 2nd District	Girlfriend
9	Benigno Simeon Aquino, III	1960		President of the Philippines	Son
10	Benigno Simeon Aquino, Jr.	1932	1983	Senator of the Philippines	Son
11	Benigno Simeon Aquino, Sr.	1894	1947	Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Philippines	Son
12	Servilliano Aquino	1874	1959	General in Aguinaldo's army	Son
13	Maria Antonina Petrona Hipolito Aguilar				Daughter
14	Juana Petrona Henson	1834	1860		Sister
15	Maria Agustina Henson	1828	1905		Mother
16	Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno	1852	1923	Gobernadorcillo of Angeles	Father
17	Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	1892	1973	Holy Angel University Co-Founder; Mayor of Angeles	Father
18	Target Nepomucenos			Siblings who collaborated with Erlinda Mendoza when she wrote <i>A Cofradia of Two</i>	

**Table 15. Connection #38: Luna**

<b>No.</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Birth Year</b>	<b>Death Year</b>	<b>Significance/Occupation</b>	<b>Connection to Next Person</b>
1	Antonio Luna	1866	1899	General in the Philippine-American War	Brother
2	Juan Luna	1857	1899	Part of a diplomatic mission from the Philippines to the United States	Husband
3	Maria de la Paz Pardo de Tavera		1892		Sister
4	Trinidad Hermenegildo Pardo de Tavera	1857	1925	Foreign affairs adviser to the Aguinaldo administration	Father
5	? Pardo de Tavera				Father
6	Mita Pardo de Tavera	1919		Secretary of Social Welfare of the Philippines	Mother
7	Alex Loinaz				Wife
8	Salvador Roman Laurel	1928	2004	Vice-President of the Philippines	Brother
9	Jose Bayani Laurel, Jr.	1912	1998	Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Philippines	Husband
10	? Cojuangco				Sister
11	Corazon Cojuangco	1933	2009	President of the Philippines	Wife
12	Benigno Simeon Aquino, Jr.	1932	1983	Senator of the Philippines	Son
13	Benigno Simeon Aquino, Sr.	1894	1947	Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Philippines	Son
14	Servilliano Aquino	1874	1959	General in Aguinaldo's army	Son
15	Maria Antonina Petrona Hipolito Aguilar				Daughter
16	Juana Petrona Henson	1834	1860		Sister
17	Maria Agustina Henson	1828	1905		Mother
18	Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno	1852	1923	Gobernadorcillo of Angeles	Father
19	Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	1892	1973	Holy Angel University Co-Founder; Mayor of Angeles	Father
20	Target Nepomucenos			Siblings who collaborated with Erlinda Mendoza when she wrote <i>A Cofradia of Two</i>	

**Table 16. Connection #38b: Luna**

No.	Name	Birth Year	Death Year	Significance/Occupation	Connection to Next Person
1	Antonio Luna	1866	1899	General in the Philippine-American War	Boyfriend
2	Ysidra Cojuangco				Sister
3	Melecio Cojuangco			Member of the Malolos Congress	Father
4	Jose Cojuangco	1896		Businessman	Father
5	Corazon Cojuangco	1933	2009	President of the Philippines	Wife
6	Benigno Simeon Aquino, Jr.	1932	1983	Senator of the Philippines	Son
7	Benigno Simeon Aquino, Sr.	1894	1947	Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Philippines	Son
8	Servilliano Aquino	1874	1959	General in Aguinaldo's army	Son
9	Maria Antonina Petrona Hipolito Aguilar				Daughter
10	Juana Petrona Henson	1834	1860		Sister
11	Maria Agustina Henson	1828	1905		Mother
12	Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno	1852	1923	Gobernadorcillo of Angeles	Father
13	Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	1892	1973	Holy Angel University Co-Founder; Mayor of Angeles	Father
14	Target Nepomucenos			Siblings who collaborated with Erlinda Mendoza when she wrote <i>A Cofradia of Two</i>	

**Table 17. Connection #39: Zobel de Ayala**

<b>No.</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Birth Year</b>	<b>Death Year</b>	<b>Significance/Occupation</b>	<b>Connection to Next Person</b>
1	Enrique Zobel			Leader of the Ayala Corporation	Son
2	Jacobo Zobel				Son
3	Enrique Zobel				Son
4	Trinidad de Ayala				Daughter
5	Margarita Roxas				Daughter
6	Domingo Roxas				Brother
7	Antonio Roxas				Father
8	Juan Pablo Roxas				Father
9	Caetano Roxas				Father
10	Antonio Roxas				Father
11	Gerardo Roxas, Sr.		1891		Father
12	Manuel Acuna Roxas*	1892	1948	President of the Philippines	Father
13	Gerardo Manuel Roxas	1924	1982	Senator of the Philippines	Husband
14	Judy Araneta				Daughter
15	J. Amado Araneta			Industrialist	Granduncle
16	Louise Cacho Araneta				Wife
17	Ferdinand Marcos, Jr.	1957		Governor of Batac	Son
18	Imelda Romualdez	1929		First Lady of the Philippines	Sister
19	Benjamin Trinidad Romualdez	1930	2012	Governor of Leyte	Husband
20	Maria Julieta Arlette Gomez	1935			Daughter
21	Maria Paz Dionisia Dizon	1902			Daughter
22	Jose Maria Dizon	1876			Son
23	Tomas Dizon	1830	1892		Son
24	Josefa Henson				Sister
25	Mariano Henson	1798	1848	Lay doctor	Father
26	Maria Agustina Henson	1828	1905		Mother

**\*Same as # 8 in chart # 29, and #1 in chart #32**

**Table 17. (continued) Connection #39: Zobel de Ayala**

<b>No.</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Birth Year</b>	<b>Death Year</b>	<b>Significance/Occupation</b>	<b>Connection to Next Person</b>
27	Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno	1852	1923	Gobernadorcillo of Angeles	Father
28	Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	1892	1973	Holy Angel University Co-Founder; Mayor of Angeles	Father
29	Target Nepomucenos			Siblings who collaborated with Erlinda Mendoza when she wrote <i>A Cofradia of Two</i>	

**Table 18. Connection #40: Ejercito**

No.	Name	Birth Year	Death Year	Significance/Occupation	Connection to Next Person
1	Joseph Ejercito (AKA Estrada)	1937		President of the Philippines	Father
2	Jacqueline Ejercito				Wife
3	Manuel Eugenio Lopez, Jr.	1967			Son
4	Manuel Lopez, Sr.	1943			Brother
5	Eugenio Lopez, III	1928	1999		Husband
6	Conchita Lao	1930			Sister
7	Nena Lao				Mother
8	Tomos Manotoc, Sr.				Husband
9	Maria Imelda Josefa Marcos	1955		Governor of Ilocos Norte	Daughter
10	Imelda Romualdez	1929		First Lady of the Philippines	Sister
11	Benjamin Trinidad Romualdez	1930	2012	Governor of Leyte	Husband
12	Maria Julieta Arlette Gomez	1935			Daughter
13	Maria Paz Dionisia Dizon	1902			Daughter
14	Jose Maria Dizon	1876			Son
15	Tomas Dizon	1830	1892		Son
16	Josefa Henson				Sister
17	Mariano Henson	1798	1848	Lay doctor	Father
18	Maria Agustina Henson	1828	1905		Mother
19	Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno	1852	1923	Gobernadorcillo of Angeles	Father
20	Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	1892	1973	Holy Angel University Co-Founder; Mayor of Angeles	Father
21	Target Nepomucenos			Siblings who collaborated with Erlinda Mendoza when she wrote <i>A Cofradia of Two</i>	



## APPENDIX B: SUMMARY OF PEOPLE MENTIONED IN CHAPTERS WHO ARE GENEALOGICALLY LINKED TO TARGET NEPOMUCENOS

Table 19 is an alphabetical list of the people mentioned in the main body of text in Chapter 1, which is about the genealogy of the Nepomuceno family and allied lines. Only people who are genealogically linked to the target Nepomucenos are included, although in some cases the relationships are distant. The emphasis is on the people who held prominent positions, especially those who did so in Pampanga. A more detailed description of each person in this table and how they are related to the Nepomucenos responsible for *A Cofradia of Two's* publication is in Chapter 1.

**Table 19. Summary of People Mentioned in Chapters who are Genealogically Linked to Target Nepomucenos**

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Connection to Target Nepomucenos	Genealogical Notes	Race/Ethnicity
Abad Santos, Aida	?		First Cousin	Niece of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez who married Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	Spanish Mestiza
Abad Santos, Amanda	?		First Cousin of Aunt's Husband	First Cousin of Brother-in-law of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez who married Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	?

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Connection to Target Nepomucenos	Genealogical Notes	Race/Ethnicity
Abad Santos, Jose Sr.	1886-1942	Acting Philippine President during World War II; Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Philippines	Uncle of Aunt's Husband	Uncle of Brother-in-law of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez who married Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	?
Abad Santos, Jose V.	1903-?		Husband of Aunt	Brother-in-law of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez who married Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	?
Abad Santos, Manuel	1907-?	Mayor of Angeles City	Brother-in-law of Aunt	Brother-in-law of Sister of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez who married Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	?
Abad Santos, Pedro	1876-1945	Founder of the Socialist Party of the Philippines	Uncle of Aunt's Husband	Uncle of Brother-in-law of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez who married Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	?

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Connection to Target Nepomucenos	Genealogical Notes	Race/Ethnicity
Abad Santos, Vicente	1916-1993	Secretary of Justice of the Philippines	First Cousin of Aunt's Husband	First Cousin of Brother-in-law of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez who married Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	?
Aquino, Benigno Simeon I	1894-1947	Secretary of Agriculture and Commerce of the Philippines	Third Cousin	Great-Grandnephew of Maria Agustina Henson who married Pio Rafael Nepomuceno; father of Benigno Simeon Aquino, II	Chinese Mestizo
Aquino, Benigno Simeon II	1932-1983	Rival of President Ferdinand Marcos; Assassinated at Manila Airport in 1983	Third Cousin Once Removed	Second Great-Grandnephew of Maria Agustina Henson who married Pio Rafael Nepomuceno; husband of Corazon Cojuangco	Chinese Mestizo
Aquino, Benigno Simeon III	1960-Present	President of the Philippines	Third Cousin Twice Removed	Second Great-Grandnephew of Maria Agustina Henson who married Pio Rafael Nepomuceno	Chinese Mestizo

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Connection to Target Nepomucenos	Genealogical Notes	Race/Ethnicity
Aquino, Hermino Sanchez	1949-Present	Deputy Executive Secretary and Head of the Ministry of Human Settlements	Third Cousin	Great-Grandnephew of Maria Agustina Henson who married Pio Rafael Nepomuceno; half-brother of Benigno Simeon Aquino, I	Chinese Mestizo
Aquino, Serviliano	1874-1959	General in the Philippine-American War; Member of Malolos Congress	Second Cousin Once Removed	Grandnephew of Maria Agustina Henson who married Pio Rafael Nepomuceno; father of Benigno Simeon Aquino, I	Chinese Mestizo
Arnedo-Cruz, Joaquin	?-1897	Gobernadorcillo of Apalit, Pampanga	Husband of Half Aunt of Husband of Stepgrandmother	Husband of Maria de la Paz Sioco who was the half-sister of Francisca, Florencia, and Sabina Sioco (all of whom are distant Nepomuceno relatives)	?
Arnedo-Cruz, Macario	1868-?	Governor of Pampanga beginning in 1904	First Cousin of Husband of Stepgrandmother	First Cousin of Jose Maria Revelino who married Eusebia de Miranda (whom also married Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno)	Chinese Mestizo

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Connection to Target Nepomucenos	Genealogical Notes	Race/Ethnicity
Arnedo-Cruz, Rosario Lucia	1903-1977		First Cousin Once Removed of Husband of Stepgrandmother	First Cousin Once Removed of Jose Mareia Revelino who married Eusebia de Miranda (whom also married Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno)	Chinese Mestiza
Cojuangco, Corazon Sumulong	1933-2009	President of the Philippines	Wife of Third Cousin Once Removed	Wife of Second Great-Grandnephew of Maria Agustina Henson who married Pio Rafael Nepomuceno	Chinese Mestiza
Collantes, Manuel	1918-2009	Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Philippines	Brother-in-law of First Cousin of Aunt's Husband	Brother-in-law of First Cousin of Brother-in-law of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez who married Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	?
Cuyugan, Cecilia	1953-Present	Municipal Councilor of Porac, Pampanga (1992-1995)	Wife of First Cousin Once Removed	Wife of Grandnephew of Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	?

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Connection to Target Nepomucenos	Genealogical Notes	Race/Ethnicity
Dayrit, Clemente N.	1883-1944	Mayor of Angeles City, Pampanga; Assassinated by Filipino guerillas	First Cousin Once Removed	Son of Juliana Nepomuceno; husband of Susana Nepomuceno	Chinese Mestizo
Dayrit, Ponciano Jose	1912-1977	Mayor of Angeles City, Pampanga during the Japanese Occupation	Second Cousin	Son of Susana Nepomuceno; Paternal grandson of Juliana Nepomuceno	Chinese Mestizo
de Jesus, Rosalia	1765-1840	Created the first public dispensary in Pampanga	3rd Great-Grandmother	Grandmother of Maria Agustina Henson who married Pio Rafael Nepomuceno	?
de la Cruz, Estevan	?		3rd Great-Grandfather	Earliest male line ancestor; father of Pasqual Nepomuceno	Indio
de los Angeles, Rosa	?		3rd Great-Grandmother	Mother of Salvadora Villasenor who married Pasqual Nepomuceno	?

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Connection to Target Nepomucenos	Genealogical Notes	Race/Ethnicity
de Miranda, Angel Panteleon	1765-1835	Gobernadorcillo of San Fernando, Pampanga beginning in 1795	3rd Great-Grandfather	Grandfather of Maria Agustina Henson who married Pio Rafael Nepomuceno	?
de Miranda, Ciriaco	?-1859	Gobernadorcillo of Angeles City, Pampanga	2nd Great-Granduncle	Uncle of Maria Agustina Henson who married Pio Rafael Nepomuceno	?
de Miranda, Eusebia	1862-?		Wife of Grandfather	Wife of Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno; First Cousin Once Removed of Maria Agustina Henson who married Pio Rafael Nepomuceno	?
de Miranda, Juana Ildefonsa	1803-1845		2nd Great-Grandmother	Mother of Maria Agustina Henson who married Pio Rafael Nepomuceno	?
de Ocampo, Aurea	1894-1986		Third Cousin Once Removed	First Cousin Twice Removed of Maria Agustina Henson who married Pio Rafael Nepomuceno	?

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Connection to Target Nepomucenos	Genealogical Notes	Race/Ethnicity
de Sequera, Joaquin	1924-Present		Husband of First Cousin	Husband of Teresita Gomez who was the niece of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez	?
de Sequera, Jose Enrique	1954-Present	Businessman	First Cousin Once Removed	Grandnephew of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez; Son of Joaquin de Sequera and Teresita Gomez	Spanish Mestizo
del Rosario, Agapito	?	Mayor of Angeles City in 1940	Second Cousin Twice Removed	Grandson of Mariano Henson's Sister, Maria Arcadia Henson	Chinese Mestizo
del Rosario, Panteleon	?	Priest	1st Cousin Three Times Removed	First Cousin of Maria Agustina Henson who married Pio Rafael Nepomuceno	Chinese Mestizo
Dinio, Juana	?		5th Great-Grandmother	Great-Grandmother of Salvadora Villasenor who married Pasqual Nepomuceno	India



Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Connection to Target Nepomucenos	Genealogical Notes	Race/Ethnicity
Dizon, Manuel	1864-1902		Second Cousin Twice Removed	Son-in-law of Nicolas Guillermo Masnou; First Cousin Once Removed of Maria Agustina Henson who married Pio Rafael Nepomuceno	?
Dizon, Victor	1824-1883	Priest	1st Cousin Three Times Removed	First Cousin of Maria Agustina Henson who married Pio Rafael Nepomuceno	Chinese Mestizo
Dycaico, Julian	?	Medical doctor	Husband of Aunt	Brother-in-law of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez who married Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	?
Escaler, Federico O.	?	Bishop-Prelate-Emeritus of Ipil, Zamboanga	Fourth Cousin	First Cousin Three Times Removed of Maria Agustina Henson who married Pio Rafael Nepomuceno	?

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Connection to Target Nepomucenos	Genealogical Notes	Race/Ethnicity
Escaler, Jose Sr.	1885-1927	Business Executive and Philanthropist	Husband of Third Cousin Once Removed	Husband of Aurea de Ocampo who was a First Cousin Once Removed of Maria Agustina Henson who married Pio Rafael Nepomuceno	Chinese Mestizo
Ganzon, Josefa	1859-1885		Wife of Grandfather	Wife of Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno	?
Gomez, Clara Teresa Teodora	1893-1970	Co-founder of Holy Angel University; businesswoman	Mother	Wife of Juan de Dios Nepomuceno; granddaughter of Nicolas Guillermo Masnou	Spanish Mestiza
Gomez, Demetrio	1886-?	Mayor of Angeles City, Pampanga (1913-1916)	Uncle	Brother of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez; Son of Esteban Gomez and Josefa Pamintuan	Spanish Mestizo
Gomez, Enrique Pio	1892-1962	Businessman; Proprietor of Gomez Sawmills	Uncle	Brother of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez; Son of Esteban Gomez and Josefa Pamintuan	Spanish Mestizo

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Connection to Target Nepomucenos	Genealogical Notes	Race/Ethnicity
Gomez, Esteban	1856-1907	Mayor of Angeles City, Pampanga beginning in 1902	Grandfather	Father of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez; Son of Nicolas Guillermo Masnou and Patricia Mercado	Spanish Mestizo
Gomez, Isabel	1901-?		Aunt	Sister of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez; Daughter of Esteban Gomez and Josefa Pamintuan	Spanish Mestiza
Gomez, Isabel	1860-1898		Grandaunt	Aunt of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez; Daughter of Nicolas Guillermo Masnou and Patricia Mercado	Spanish Mestiza
Gomez, Maria Julieta Arlette	1935-Present		Fourth Cousin	Second Great-Grandniece of Mariano Henson; First Cousin Three Times Removed of Maria Agustina Henson who married Pio Rafael Nepomuceno	Chinese Mestiza

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Connection to Target Nepomucenos	Genealogical Notes	Race/Ethnicity
Gomez, Maria Lourdes Rufina	1896-?		Aunt	Sister of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez; Daughter of Esteban Gomez and Josefa Pamintuan	Spanish Mestiza
Gomez, Maria Teodora	1867-1954		Grandaunt	Aunt of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez; Daughter of Nicolas Guillermo Masnou and Patricia Mercado	Spanish Mestiza
Gomez, Pedro Agustin	1857-?		Granduncle	Uncle of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez; Son of Nicolas Guillermo Masnou and Patricia Mercado	Spanish Mestizo
Gomez, Teresita	1929-Present		First Cousin	Niece of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez; Daughter of Enrique Pio Gomez and Antonia Abad	Spanish Mestiza
Gomez, Vicente	1889-?	Manager of the Angeles Ice Plant	Uncle	Brother of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez; Son of Esteban Gomez and Josefa Pamintuan	Spanish Mestizo

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Connection to Target Nepomucenos	Genealogical Notes	Race/Ethnicity
Gomez, Ysabel	1796-?		2nd Great-Grandmother	Mother of Nicolas Guillermo Masnou; Daughter of Agustin Yledfonso Gomez and Juliana Yglesias	Spanish
Gonzalez, Joaquin	1853-1900	President of Universidad Cientifico-Literaria de Filipinas; Member of Malolos Congress	Husband of Aunt of Husband of Stepgrandmother	Husband of Florencia Sioco whose nephew Jose Maria Revelino married Eusebia de Miranda (who also married Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno)	Spanish Mestizo
Henson, Amanda Lourdes	1895-1983		Second Cousin Once Removed (by blood) Aunt (by marriage)	Wife of Ricardo P. Nepomuceno; Mother-in-law of Javier Nepomuceno; Grandniece of Maria Agustina Henson	Chinese Mestiza

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Connection to Target Nepomucenos	Genealogical Notes	Race/Ethnicity
Henson, Celestino Leon	1901-1982	Medical doctor	Second Cousin Once Removed	Grandnephew of Maria Agustina Henson who married Pio Rafael Nepomuceno; brother of Amanda Lourdes Henson who married Ricardo P. Nepomuceno	Chinese Mestizo
Henson, Jose Pedro	1871-1947	Mayor of Angeles City, Pampanga; Bid landowner; owned a pharmacy	1st Cousin Twice Removed	Nephew of Maria Agustina Henson who married Pio Rafael Nepomuceno; father of Amanda Lourdes Henson who married Ricardo P. Nepomuceno	Chinese Mestizo
Henson, Josefa	?		2nd Great-Grandaunt	Aunt of Maria Agustina Henson who married Pio Rafael Nepomuceno	Chinese Mestiza
Henson, Juana Petrona	1834-1860		Great-Grandaunt	Sister of Maria Agustina Henson who married Pio Rafael Nepomuceno; grandmother of Serviliano Aquino	Chinese Mestiza

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Connection to Target Nepomucenos	Genealogical Notes	Race/Ethnicity
Henson, Maria Agustina	1828-1905		Great-Grandmother	Wife of Pio Rafael Nepomuceno; daughter of Mariano Henson and Juana Ildefonsa de Miranda	Chinese Mestiza
Henson, Maria Arcadia	?		2nd Great-Grandaunt	Aunt of Maria Agustina Henson who married Pio Rafael Nepomuceno	Chinese Mestiza
Henson, Maria Luisa	1904-?	Nun	Second Cousin Once Removed	Grandniece of Maria Agustina Henson who married Pio Rafael Nepomuceno; sister of Amanda Lourdes Henson who married Ricardo P. Nepomuceno	Chinese Mestiza
Henson, Maria Rosa	1927-1997	Author of autobiography about Japanese abuse in World War II; Huk guerilla	Second Cousin Once Removed	Grandniece of Maria Agustina Henson who married Pio Rafael Nepomuceno; half-sister of Amanda Lourdes Henson who married Ricardo P. Nepomuceno	Chinese Mestiza

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Connection to Target Nepomucenos	Genealogical Notes	Race/Ethnicity
Henson, Mariano	1798-1848	First Filipino doctor of Laws and second Filipino lay doctor	2nd Great-Grandfather	Father of Maria Agustina Henson who married Pio Rafael Nepomuceno	Chinese Mestizo
Henson, Mariano Angel	1897-1975	Town Historian of Angeles City, Pampanga	Second Cousin Once Removed	Grandnephew of Maria Agustina Henson who married Pio Rafael Nepomuceno; brother of Amanda Lourdes Henson who married Ricardo P. Nepomuceno	Chinese Mestizo
Henson, Severino	?-1833		3rd Great-Grandfather	Grandfather of Maria Agustina Henson who married Pio Rafael Nepomuceno	?
Hizon, Macimino	?	General in the Philippine-American War	First Cousin of Wife of Second Cousin Twice Removed	First Cousin of Leoncia Hizon who married Basilio de Ocampo. Basilio was a First Cousin Once Removed of Maria Agustina Henson	?



Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Connection to Target Nepomucenos	Genealogical Notes	Race/Ethnicity
Leon Santos, Celestino	?	Gobernadocillo of Porac, Pampanga beginning in 1859	Grandfather of husband of Grandaunt	Grandfather of Husband of Aunt of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez who married Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	?
Leon Santos, Filomeno	?	Municipal President of Mablacat, Pampanga	Husband of Grandaunt	Husband of Aunt of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez who married Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	?
Leon Santos, Jose	?	Gobernadocillo of Porac, Pampanga	Father-in-law of Grandaunt	Father-in-law of Aunt of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez who married Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	?
Llamas, Leonarda Franzisca Justa	?		3rd Great-Grandmother	Wife of Estevan de la Cruz; mother of Pasqual Nepomuceno	India

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Connection to Target Nepomucenos	Genealogical Notes	Race/Ethnicity
Lopez, Fausto Ambrosio	1811-1866	Priest in Apalit, Pampanga	Grandfather of Husband of First Cousin Once Removed of Husband of Stepgrandmother	Grandfather of Husband of First Cousin Once Removed of Jose Maria Revelino who married Eusebia de Miranda (whom also married Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno)	Spanish
Lumalan, Juanita	1914-?	Governor of Pampanga (1972-1976)	Wife of First Cousin	Wife of Francisco Jose Nepomuceno who was a nephew of Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	?
Madrigal, Antonio	1921-2007		Husband of First Cousin of Aunt's Husband	Husband of First Cousin of Brother-in-law of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez who married Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	?
Madrigal, Maria Anna Consuelo	1958-Present	Presidential Adviser for Children's Affairs	First Cousin once removed of Aunt's Husband	First Cousin once removed of Brother-in-law of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez who married Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	?

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Connection to Target Nepomucenos	Genealogical Notes	Race/Ethnicity
Madrigal, Pacita	?	Leader of the Social Welfare Administration of the Philippines	Sister-in-law of First Cousin of Aunt's Husband	Sister-in-law of First Cousin of Brother-in-law of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez who married Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	?
Madrigal, Vicente Lopez	?	Senator	Father-in-law of First Cousin of Aunt's Husband	Father-in-law of First Cousin of Brother-in-law of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez who married Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	?
Masnou, Casilda	1861-?		First Cousin Twice Removed	Niece of Nicolas Guillermo Masnou; Daughter of Pedro Masnou and Demetria Perez	Spanish
Masnou, Nicolas Guillermo	1824-1895	Parish Priest of Angeles City, Pampanga	Great-Grandfather	Grandfather of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez who married Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	Spanish
Masnou, Pedro	?		2nd Great-Grandfather	Father of Nicolas Guillermo Masnou; Son of Pedro Masnou and Maria Palou	Spanish

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Connection to Target Nepomucenos	Genealogical Notes	Race/Ethnicity
Mendez de Villa Abrille, Pilar	?	Angeles Ice Plant Employee	Wife of Uncle	Sister-in-law of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez who married Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	?
Mendiola, Jose	1895-?	Vice-Mayor of Angeles City	Third Cousin once removed	Great-grandson of Josefa Henson who was an aunt of Maria Agustina Henson who married Pio Rafael Nepomuceno	?
Mercado, Patricia	1828-1900	Businesswoman	Great-Grandmother	Grandmother of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez; Wife of Nicolas Guillermo Masnou; Daughter of Agustin Mercado and Maria Canlas	?
Nepomuceno, Armando Lorenzo	1924-Present	Manager of Angeles Electric Company; Historian; Author	First Cousin; Brother-in-law of Javier Nepomuceno	Nephew of Juan de Dios Nepomuceno; Son of Ricardo P. Nepomuceno and Amanda Lourdes Henson	Chinese Mestizo
Nepomuceno, Aureo Jose	1921-2014	Headmaster of Ateneo (an elementary School); priest	Self	Son of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez and Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	Chinese/Spanish Mestizo

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Connection to Target Nepomucenos	Genealogical Notes	Race/Ethnicity
Nepomuceno, Bryan Matthew	1978-Present	Vice mayor of Angeles City (2016-present)	First Cousin Twice Removed	Great-Grandnephew of Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	Chinese Mestizo
Nepomuceno, Francisco	1951-Present	Congressman for Pampanga's First District (2001-2007)	First Cousin Once Removed	Grandnephew of Juan de Dios Nepomuceno; Son of Francisco Jose Nepomuceno and Juanita Lumanlan	Chinese Mestizo
Nepomuceno, Francisco Jose	1916-?	Governor of Pampanga (1960-1972)	First Cousin	Nephew of Juan de Dios Nepomuceno; Son of Mariano Nepomuceno and Aguida Gopez	Chinese Mestizo
Nepomuceno, Geromin Andrew Jr.	1954-Present	Member of the Board of Trustees at Holy Angel University	Nephew	Son of Geromin Pedro Nepomuceno	Chinese/Spanish Mestizo
Nepomuceno, Geromin Pedro	1923-1975	President of Holy Angel Catholic College	Brother	Son of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez and Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	Chinese/Spanish Mestizo
Nepomuceno, Javier Jesus	1919-Present	Manager of the Angeles Electric Company	Self	Son of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez and Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	Chinese/Spanish Mestizo

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Connection to Target Nepomucenos	Genealogical Notes	Race/Ethnicity
Nepomuceno, Jeffrey Neil	1983-Present	Director of Campus Services and Development at Holy Angel University	Grandnephew	Grandson of Geromin Pedro Nepomuceno	Chinese/Spanish Mestizo
Nepomuceno, Josefina Marcela	1934-Present	President of Holy Angel University	Self	Daughter of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez and Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	Chinese/Spanish Mestiza
Nepomuceno, Juan de Dios	1892-1973	Co-Founder of Holy Angel University; Businessman; Mayor of Angeles City, Pampanga (1922-1928)	Father	Father of the Target Nepomucenos; Husband of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez; Son of Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno and Aurea Paras	Chinese Mestizo
Nepomuceno, Juan Gualberto	1852-1923	Gobernadorcillo of Angeles City, Pampanga; Member of the Malolos Congress	Grandfather	Son of Pio Rafael Nepomuceno and Maria Agustina Henson	Chinese Mestizo

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Connection to Target Nepomucenos	Genealogical Notes	Race/Ethnicity
Nepomuceno, Juliana	1851-1895		Grandaunt	Daughter of Pio Rafael Nepomuceno and Maria Agustina Henson	Chinese Mestiza
Nepomuceno, Mamerto Juan	1925-2002	Owner of a company that sold ice cream	Brother	Son of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez and Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	Chinese/Spanish Mestizo
Nepomuceno, Marco Armando Martin	1953-Present	Genealogist; Author	First Cousin Once Removed	Grandnephew of Juan de Dios Nepomuceno; Son of Armando Lorenzo Nepomuceno and Paciencia David	Chinese Mestizo
Nepomuceno, Maria Asuncion Marcelina	1922-?		Half-First Cousin	Half-Niece of Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	Chinese Mestiza
Nepomuceno, Maria Graciana	1858-1896		Grandaunt	Daughter of Pio Rafael Nepomuceno and Maria Agustina Henson	Chinese Mestiza

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Connection to Target Nepomucenos	Genealogical Notes	Race/Ethnicity
Nepomuceno, Mariano	1890-1950		Uncle	Brother of Juan de Dios Nepomuceno; Son of Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno and Aurea Paras	Chinese Mestizo
Nepomuceno, Pablo	1843-1900	Vice-Mayor of Lucban during the Philippine-American War	1st Cousin Twice Removed	Nephew of Pio Rafael Nepomuceno	Chinese Mestizo
Nepomuceno, Pasqual	1790-1838	Native Lawyer of the Supreme Court in the Spanish Philippines	2nd Great-Grandfather	Earliest ancestor with Nepomuceno surname	Indio
Nepomuceno, Patricio Carmelo	1927-Present	Medical doctor; Genealogist; Author	Self	Son of Juan de Dios Nepomuceno and Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez	Chinese/Spanish Mestizo
Nepomuceno, Pedro Gonzalez	1819-1865	Ran a workhouse in Lucban in the 1850s	Great-Granduncle	Brother of Pio Rafael Nepomuceno	Chinese Mestizo
Nepomuceno, Pedro Pablo	1936-Present	Manager of the Angeles Electric Company; Engineer	Self	Son of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez and Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	Chinese/Spanish Mestizo



Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Connection to Target Nepomucenos	Genealogical Notes	Race/Ethnicity
Nepomuceno, Ricardo P.	1894-1965	Mayor of Angeles City, Pampanga (1928-1931)	Uncle; Father-in-law of Javier Nepomuceno	Brother of Juan de Dios Nepomuceno; Son of Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno and Josefa Ganzon; Father of Maria Asuncion Marcelina Alicia Nepomuceno	Chinese Mestizo
Nepomuceno, Robin	1946-Present	Vice-Governor of Pampanga (1984-1986)	First Cousin Once Removed	Grandnephew of Juan de Dios Nepomuceno; Son of Francisco Jose Nepomuceno and Juanita Lumanlan	Chinese Mestizo
Nepomuceno, Susana	1887-1940		First Cousin Once Removed	Niece of Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno; daughter of Ysabelo Nepomuceno and Juana Paras	Chinese Mestiza
Nepomuceno, Teresita Marcela	1929-Present	Member of the Board of Trustees at Holy Angel University	Self	Daughter of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez and Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	Chinese/Spanish Mestiza
Nepomuceno, Ysabelo	1849-1897	Justice of the Peace of Angeles City, Pampanga	Granduncle	Brother of Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno; Son of Pio Rafael Nepomuceno and Maria Agustina Henson	Chinese Mestizo

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Connection to Target Nepomucenos	Genealogical Notes	Race/Ethnicity
Pamintuan, Josefa	1861-1941		Grandmother	Mother of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez; Daughter of Vicente Pamintuan and Severina Pamintuan (they had the same birth surname)	?
Panlilio, Alejandro Jose	1891-?	Judge	Grandfather-in-law of First Cousin once removed	Grandfather-in-law of Grandnephew of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez who married Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	Indio
Panlilio, Jose Lazatin	?	Lawyer	Father-in-law of First Cousin once removed	Father-in-law of Grandnephew of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez who married Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	?
Panlilio, Pamela	?	Co-owner of Bea Valdes (a fashion design company)	Wife of First Cousin once removed	Wife of Grandnephew of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez who married Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	?

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Connection to Target Nepomucenos	Genealogical Notes	Race/Ethnicity
Paras, Aurea	1865-1917		Grandmother	Wife of Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno; Sister of Juana Paras who married Ysabelo Nepomuceno	?
Paras, Juana	1862-1937		Grandaunt	Wife of Ysabelo Nepomuceno; sister of Aurea Paras who married Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno	?
Paras, Placida	1777-1840		3rd Great-Grandmother	Grandmother of Maria Agustina Henson who married Pio Rafael Nepomuceno	?
Pineda, Braulio	?	Coadjutor of Angeles City, Pampanga	Brother-in-law of Grandaunt	Brother-in-law of Maria Graciana Nepomuceno	?
Pineda, Samuel	1855-1902		Husband of Grandaunt	Husband of Maria Graciana Nepomuceno	?

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Connection to Target Nepomucenos	Genealogical Notes	Race/Ethnicity
Revelino, Jose Maria	?		Husband of Stepgrandmother	Husband of Eusebia de Miranda who married Juan Gualberto Nepomuceno and was also a First Cousin Once Removed of Pio Rafael Nepomuceno	Spanish Mestizo
Romualdez, Imelda	1920-Present	First Lady of the Philippines; Congresswoman for Ilocos Norte's Second District	Sister-in-law of Fourth Cousin	Sister-in-law of Maria Julieta Arlette Gomez who was a Second Great-Grandniece of Mariano Henson	Spanish Mestiza
Santos, Francisco G. Sr.	?-1965	Businessman	First Cousin Once Removed	First Cousin of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez; Son of Filomeno Leon Santos and Maria Teodora Gomez	Spanish Mestizo
Sarmiento, Fe Lugue	?	Personal Jeweler of President Marcos's wife, Imelda Romualdez	Mother-in-law of First Cousin once removed	Mother-in-law of Grandnephew of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez who married Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	?

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Connection to Target Nepomucenos	Genealogical Notes	Race/Ethnicity
Sioco, Florencia	1860-1925		Aunt of Husband of Stepgrandmother	Aunt of Jose Maria Revelino who married Eusebia de Miranda; Aunt of Jose Escaler, Sr. who married Aurea de Ocampo, a First Cousin Twice Removed of Maria Agustina Henson	Chinese Mestiza
Sioco, Francicsa	?		Mother-in-law of Stepgrandmother	Mother of Jose Maria Revelino married Eusebia de Miranda; Aunt of Jose Escaler, Sr. who married Aurea de Ocampo, a First Cousin Twice Removed of Maria Agustina Henson	Chinese Mestiza
Sioco, Maria de la Paz	?-1897		Half Sister of three distant Nepomuceno in-laws	Half Aunt of Jose Maria Revelino who married Eusebia de Miranda; Half Aunt of Jose Escaler, Sr. who married Aurea de Ocampo, a First Cousin Twice Removed of Maria Agustina Henson	Chinese Mestiza

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Connection to Target Nepomucenos	Genealogical Notes	Race/Ethnicity
Sioco, Sabina	1858-1950		Mother-in-law of Third Cousin Once Removed	Mother-in-law of Aurea de Ocampo who was a First Cousin Once Removed of Maria Agustina Henson who married Pio Rafael Nepomuceno	Chinese Mestiza
Tayag, Renato Dayrit	1915-1985	Ferdinand Marcos's business partner; Wrote books both critical of and in favor of Nepomucenos	Second Cousin	Grandson of Juliana Nepomuceno who was a daughter of Pio Rafael Nepomuceno and Maria Agustina Henson	Chinese Mestizo
Valdes, Bea	?	Co-owner of Bea Valdes (a fashion design company)	First Cousin twice removed	Great-grandniece of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez who married Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	?
Valdes, Gabriel A.S.	1945-Present		First Cousin once removed	Grandnephew of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez who married Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	Spanish Mestizo

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Connection to Target Nepomucenos	Genealogical Notes	Race/Ethnicity
Valdes, Marga	?		First Cousin twice removed	Great-grandniece of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez who married Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	?
Valdez, Carlos J.	1920-2008	Ambassador representing the Philippines	Husband of First Cousin	Husband of Niece of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez who married Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	?
Venco, Jeronimo	?	Trader from Fujian, China	5th Great-Grandfather	Great-Grandfather of Salvadora Villasenor who married Pasqual Nepomuceno	Chinese
Villasenor, Agustin	1800-1856	Coadjutor of Atimonan, Quezon	2nd Great-Granduncle	Brother of Salvadora Villasenor who married Pasqual Nepomuceno	Chinese Mestizo
Villasenor, Antonio Serapion	?	Gobernadorcillo of Lucban in the 1820s	3rd Great-Grandfather	Father of Salvadora Villasenor who married Pasqual Nepomuceno	Chinese Mestizo

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Connection to Target Nepomucenos	Genealogical Notes	Race/Ethnicity
Villasenor, Cristobal	?		4th Great-Grandfather	Grandfather of Salvadora Villasenor who married Pasqual Nepomuceno; earliest ancestor with the Villasenor surname	Chinese Mestizo
Villasenor, Juan	?	Gobernadorcillo of Lucban in the 1840s	2nd Great-Granduncle	Brother of Salvadora Villasenor who married Pasqual Nepomuceno	Chinese Mestizo
Villasenor, Salvadora	1798-1845		2nd Great-Grandmother	Wife of Pasqual Nepomuceno; daughter of Antonio Villasenor	Chinese Mestiza
Villasenor, Silvestre	1796-1843	Priest	2nd Great-Granduncle	Brother of Salvadora Villasenor who married Pasqual Nepomuceno	Chinese Mestizo
Villasenor, Silvino	?	Gobernadorcillo of Lucban in the 1830s	2nd Great-Granduncle	Brother of Salvadora Villasenor who married Pasqual Nepomuceno	Chinese Mestizo
Wilkerson, Darrel Ray	1932-?	Owner of Al's Trading and Leadway companies	Brother-in-law/Husband	Son-in-law of Clara Teresa Teodora Gomez and Juan de Dios Nepomuceno	White



### **Appendix C: Summary of People Mentioned in Chapters who are Not Genealogically Linked to Target Nepomucenos**

Table 20 is an alphabetical list of the people mentioned in the main body of this thesis (the three chapters, the introduction, and the conclusion) who are not genealogically linked to the Nepomuceno family. The relevance of each person to the thesis and his or her most significant role is listed here in order to serve as a reference guide for readers.

**Table 20. Summary of People Mentioned in Chapters who are Not Genealogically Linked to Target Nepomucenos**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Life Dates</b>	<b>Most Prominent Role</b>	<b>Relevance to Paper</b>	<b>Modern Country (based on 2016 borders)</b>	<b>Most Relevant Years</b>
Aniceto, Paciano Basilio	1937-Present	Archbishop	Archbishop of Pampanga who does not penalize sexually active priests	Philippines	1989-2014
Buencamino, Felipe	1848-1929	Secretary of War	Quoted in sources regarding 19th century lovers of priests	Philippines	c. 1900
Burgos, Jose Apolonio	1837-1872	Priest	Executed due to Cavite Mutiny	Philippines	1872
Cabazares, Justino	?	Priest	Priest who lost job due to his marriage	Philippines	1993
Cadiang, Crispin	?	Priest	Kapampangan priest not penalized for fathering children	Philippines	2002
Carpintero, Benito Sanz	?	Priest	Subject of legal case due to fathering children Post-Council of Trent	Spain	1565

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Relevance to Paper	Modern Country (based on 2016 borders)	Most Relevant Years
Casey, Eamon	1927-?	Bishop	Bishop who lost his job due to sex scandal	Ireland	1992
Crimmins, John Daniel	1844-1917	Influential Catholic Philanthropist/ Politician	Involved in priest sex scandal cover-up	United States	1904
Cruz, Francis	?	Priest	Priest who wrote memoir about fathering a child	Philippines	2013
Cruz, Oscar	1934-Present	Archbishop	Archbishop of Pampanga who unsuccessfully tried to restrict sexual activity among priests	Philippines	1978-1988
Damaso	N/A	Fictional character in Jose Rizal's <i>Noli Me Tangere</i>	Compared to Nepomuceno ancestor, Guillermo Masnou in 1960 book written by Renato Tayag	Philippines	N/A
de Aguirre, Juan Joseph Rueda	1700s	Lawyer	Subject of legal case related to his being the son of an abbot	Mexico	1700s
de los Santos, Maria Clara	N/A	Daughter of priest	Fictional character in Jose Rizal's <i>Noli Me Tangere</i> who was the daughter of one priest and romantic interest of another	Philippines	N/A
Dillane, Maurice	1933-Present	Priest	Priest who lost his job due to sex scandal	Ireland	2006
Enriquez, Vicente Atanasio	1905-?	Son of priest	Subject of legal case since his father was a priest	Philippines	1915

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Relevance to Paper	Modern Country (based on 2016 borders)	Most Relevant Years
Gibbons, James	1834-1921	Cardinal of Baltimore	Presented with Vattman's report	United States	1903
Habsburg, Charles V	1500-1558	Holy Roman Emperor	Advocate for the Council of Trent	Germany	1545-1563
John XII	930-964	Pope	Pope known for sex scandals	Italy	955-964
John XIII	930-972	Pope	Pope known for sex scandals, including a large harem	Italy	965-972
Justinian	482-565	Eastern Roman Emperor	Involved in creation of law code that formed the basis for Spain's Seven Part Code	Turkey	529-534
Kohlstaat, Herman	1853-1924	White House aide	Wrote a memoir mentioning Vattman's investigation	Philippines	1903
Leo XIII	1810-1903	Pope	Presented with Vattman's report	Italy	1903
Lugo, Fernando	1951-Present	President of Paraguay	Former priest, turned president, who was impeached possibly due in part to sex scandal during priesthood	Paraguay	2008-2012
Maghirang, Jeffrey Louie Laxamana	1984-Present	Priest	Priest sued for adultery with married woman	Philippines	c. 2010
Mapua, Lisa N.	?	Author	Co-author of <i>Destiny and Destination</i>	Philippines	2008
Marino, Eugene	1934-2000	Archbishop	Archbishop who caused scandal by marrying a church official	United States	1990

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Relevance to Paper	Modern Country (based on 2016 borders)	Most Relevant Years
McFalls, Daniel	1955-Present	Priest	Priest who lost his job due to sex scandal	United States	2013
McKinnon, William D.	1858-1902	Chaplain	Involved in setting up American education system in Philippines	Philippines	1898-1902
Mendoza, Erlita	?	Author	Author of <i>A Cofradia of Two</i>	Philippines	2004
Panlilio, Eddie Tongol	1953-Present	Governor of Pampanga	Priest who was elected governor despite having children	Philippines	2007
Paul III	1468-1549	Pope	Pope during Council of Trent	Italy	1545-1563
Quijano, Delfin	?	Spokesman for Philippine Catholic Family Priests	Priest who lost job due to his marriage	Philippines	1993
Rey, Theodoro	?	Priest	Priest who lost job due to his marriage	Philippines	1993
Reyes, Catalino	1833-1926	Priest	Subject of legal case due to his fathering a child	Philippines	1930
Rivera, Arnold	?	Priest	Priest who caused scandal due alleged rape and sexual harassment	Philippines	1994
Roosevelt, Theodore	1858-1919	President of the United States	Ordered investigation of priest sex scandals and covered them up	Philippines	1903-1904
Root, Elihu	1845-1937	Secretary of War	Ordered investigation of priest sex scandals	Philippines	1899-1904
Rufo, Aries	1970-2015	Journalist	Author of <i>Altar of Secrets</i>	Philippines	2013

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Relevance to Paper	Modern Country (based on 2016 borders)	Most Relevant Years
Santos, Pedro	1889-1965	Bishop	Co-founder of Holy Angel University	Philippines	1933
Taft, William Howard	1857-1930	President of the United States	Interviewed priests on behalf of Philippine Commission	Philippines	1901
Tantingco, Robert P.	?	Director of the Center for Kapampangan Studies	Co-author of <i>Destiny and Destination</i>	Philippines	2008
Teresa	?	Lover of abbot	Had a son with an abbot who became the subject of a court case	Mexico	1700s
Urban II	1042-1099	Pope	Decreed that wives of priests be given to nobles as slaves and that their children be abandoned	Italy	1095
Vallerta, Jose A.	1871-?	Son of priest	Subject of legal case since his father was a priest	Philippines	1930
Vattman, Edward J.	1841-1919	Chaplain	Investigated priest sex scandals on behalf of Roosevelt administration	Philippines	1902-1903
Wilkinson, Earl K.	?	Journalist/Researcher	Author of <i>People, Priests, and Pedophiles</i>	Australia	1994
Willenborg, Henry	?	Priest	Priest who lost his job due to sex scandals	United States	1983

## APPENDIX C: SUMMARY OF PEOPLE MENTIONED IN CHAPTERS WHO ARE NOT GENEALOGICALLY LINKED TO TARGET NEPOMUCENOS

Table 20 is an alphabetical list of the people mentioned in the main body of this thesis (the three chapters, the introduction, and the conclusion) who are not genealogically linked to the Nepomuceno family. The relevance of each person to the thesis and his or her most significant role is listed here in order to serve as a reference guide for readers.

**Table 20. Summary of People Mentioned in Chapters who are Not Genealogically Linked to Target Nepomucenos**

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Relevance to Paper	Modern Country (based on 2016 borders)	Most Relevant Years
Aniceto, Paciano Basilio	1937-Present	Archbishop	Archbishop of Pampanga who does not penalize sexually active priests	Philippines	1989-2014
Buencamino, Felipe	1848-1929	Secretary of War	Quoted in sources regarding 19th century lovers of priests	Philippines	c. 1900
Burgos, Jose Apolonio	1837-1872	Priest	Executed due to Cavite Mutiny	Philippines	1872
Cabazares, Justino	?	Priest	Priest who lost job due to his marriage	Philippines	1993
Cadiang, Crispin	?	Priest	Kapampangan priest not penalized for fathering children	Philippines	2002

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Relevance to Paper	Modern Country (based on 2016 borders)	Most Relevant Years
Carpintero, Benito Sanz	?	Priest	Subject of legal case due to fathering children Post-Council of Trent	Spain	1565
Casey, Eamon	1927-?	Bishop	Bishop who lost his job due to sex scandal	Ireland	1992
Crimmins, John Daniel	1844-1917	Influential Catholic Philanthropist/Politician	Involved in priest sex scandal cover-up	United States	1904
Cruz, Francis	?	Priest	Priest who wrote memoir about fathering a child	Philippines	2013
Cruz, Oscar	1934- Present	Archbishop	Archbishop of Pampanga who unsuccessfully tried to restrict sexual activity among priests	Philippines	1978-1988
Damaso	N/A	Fictional character in Jose Rizal's <i>Noli Me Tangere</i>	Compared to Nepomuceno ancestor, Guillermo Masnou in 1960 book written by Renato Tayag	Philippines	N/A
de Aguirre, Juan Joseph Rueda	1700s	Lawyer	Subject of legal case related to his being the son of an abbot	Mexico	1700s

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Relevance to Paper	Modern Country (based on 2016 borders)	Most Relevant Years
de los Santos, Maria Clara	N/A	Daughter of priest	Fictional character in Jose Rizal's <i>Noli Me Tangere</i> who was the daughter of one priest and romantic interest of another	Philippines	N/A
Dillane, Maurice	1933- Present	Priest	Priest who lost his job due to sex scandal	Ireland	2006
Enriquez, Vicente Atanasio	1905-?	Son of priest	Subject of legal case since his father was a priest	Philippines	1915
Gibbons, James	1834-1921	Cardinal of Baltimore	Presented with Vattman's report	United States	1903
Habsburg, Charles V	1500-1558	Holy Roman Emperor	Advocate for the Council of Trent	Germany	1545-1563
John XII	930-964	Pope	Pope known for sex scandals	Italy	955-964
John XIII	930-972	Pope	Pope known for sex scandals, including a large harem	Italy	965-972
Justinian	482-565	Eastern Roman Emperor	Involved in creation of law code that formed the basis for Spain's Seven Part Code	Turkey	529-534
Kohlstaat, Herman	1853-1924	White House aide	Wrote a memoir mentioning Vattman's investigation	Philippines	1903
Leo XIII	1810-1903	Pope	Presented with Vattman's report	Italy	1903



Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Relevance to Paper	Modern Country (based on 2016 borders)	Most Relevant Years
Lugo, Fernando	1951- Present	President of Paraguay	Former priest, turned president, who was impeached possibly due in part to sex scandal during priesthood	Paraguay	2008-2012
Maghirang, Jeffrey Louie Laxamana	1984- Present	Priest	Priest sued for adultery with married woman	Philippines	c. 2010
Mapua, Lisa N.	?	Author	Co-author of <i>Destiny and Destination</i>	Philippines	2008
Marino, Eugene	1934-2000	Archbishop	Archbishop who caused scandal by marrying a church official	United States	1990
McFalls, Daniel	1955- Present	Priest	Priest who lost his job due to sex scandal	United States	2013
McKinnon, William D.	1858-1902	Chaplain	Involved in setting up American education system in Philippines	Philippines	1898-1902
Mendoza, Erlita	?	Author	Author of <i>A Cofradia of Two</i>	Philippines	2004
Panlilio, Eddie Tongol	1953- Present	Governor of Pampanga	Priest who was elected governor despite having children	Philippines	2007
Paul III	1468-1549	Pope	Pope during Council of Trent	Italy	1545-1563

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Relevance to Paper	Modern Country (based on 2016 borders)	Most Relevant Years
Quijano, Delfin	?	Spokesman for Philippine Catholic Family Priests	Priest who lost job due to his marriage	Philippines	1993
Rey, Theodoro	?	Priest	Priest who lost job due to his marriage	Philippines	1993
Reyes, Catalino	1833-1926	Priest	Subject of legal case due to his fathering a child	Philippines	1930
Rivera, Arnold	?	Priest	Priest who caused scandal due alleged rape and sexual harassment	Philippines	1994
Roosevelt, Theodore	1858-1919	President of the United States	Ordered investigation of priest sex scandals & covered them up	Philippines	1903-1904
Root, Elihu	1845-1937	Secretary of War	Ordered investigation of priest sex scandals	Philippines	1899-1904
Rufo, Aries	1970-2015	Journalist	Author of <i>Altar of Secrets</i>	Philippines	2013
Santos, Pedro	1889-1965	Bishop	Co-founder of Holy Angel University	Philippines	1933
Taft, William Howard	1857-1930	President of the United States	Interviewed priests on behalf of Philippine Commission	Philippines	1901

Name	Life Dates	Most Prominent Role	Relevance to Paper	Modern Country (based on 2016 borders)	Most Relevant Years
Tantingco, Robert P.	?	Director of the Center for Kapampangan Studies	Co-author of <i>Destiny and Destination</i>	Philippines	2008
Teresa	?	Lover of abbot	Had a son with an abbot who became the subject of a court case	Mexico	1700s
Urban II	1042-1099	Pope	Decreed that wives of priests be given to nobles as slaves and that their children be abandoned	Italy	1095
Vallarta, Jose A.	1871-?	Son of priest	Subject of legal case since his father was a priest	Philippines	1930
Vattman, Edward J.	1841-1919	Chaplain	Investigated priest sex scandals on behalf of Roosevelt administration	Philippines	1902-1903
Wilkinson, Earl K.	?	Journalist/Researcher	Author of <i>People, Priests, and Pedophiles</i>	Australia	1994
Willenborg, Henry	?	Priest	Priest who lost his job due to sex scandals	United States	1983

## **APPENDIX D: POINTS THAT COULD MERIT ADDITIONAL RESEARCH**

There were several points of interest that I discovered while researching this thesis which were related but extended beyond the subject matter included in the main text. These topics could be examined in more detail later were this project ever expanded into a dissertation, or if there were any additional studies made about the subject matter. These topics are described in the following paragraphs.

As was established in Chapter 2, it is unclear at what point it became socially acceptable for priests in the Spanish Philippines to engage in sexual relationships with Filipino women. This practice was well-established by the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the point where it was taken for granted by the general public, and the stigma that existed towards such relationships in many other Catholic countries did not exist. The Spanish first colonized the Philippines in 1565, and there were Catholic priests in leadership positions within the colonial regime from that early period until the Katipunan revolution in the 1890s. Given the timing of the Council of Trent edicts only two years before the Spanish established their first settlement in the Philippines and the relative distances involved, it is entirely possible that the first Catholic priests in the Philippines were unaware of the new restrictions. Regardless of whether the first Spanish priests knew about the Council of Trent's restrictions on sexual activity or not, it would not have been unusual for the late 16<sup>th</sup> century if they had ignored them. Since the Philippines was so isolated, the Indios did not have any source of information about their new religion other than what the Spanish priests told them (at least in the early part of the Spanish colonial period). It is, therefore, entirely possible that news about the changes in Church law did

not reach the islands until it was already well-established locally that priests could have sex. This could be an important factor in why clerical celibacy was so unknown in the Philippines and why the lovers and children of priests were seen favorably during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This topic would be worth pursuing further in order to determine if the reasons outlined above really did influence the development of a Catholic culture in the Philippines that did not disapprove of clerical sexual activity. A history of clerical celibacy and its relative lack thereof in the Philippines from the time it was first colonized in 1565 up until the close of the 18<sup>th</sup> century would, therefore, be worth including in a more comprehensive examination of the history of this topic in the Philippines.

It would also be important to more closely examine the cultural mindset towards priestly celibacy and priests having children among the people in 21<sup>st</sup>-century Pampanga, which ostensibly seems similar to that during the Spanish colonial period. This could be compared to the same concept in other parts of the Philippines. In other words, based on the available evidence, local people in Pampanga seem to be either indifferent to priests having children or actually regard priests who have such romantic relationships with women in a positive light. According to Aries Rufo, a reporter who extensively researched the sexual activity of priests throughout the Philippines, the public attitude toward clerical sex in Pampanga is very different from that in other parts of the country, such that “generally, sexual infractions of Pampanga priests are taken kindly by Pampanga parishioners.”<sup>1</sup> As of 2007, approximately 35% of priests in

<sup>1</sup> Rufo, *Altar of Secrets*, 49.

Pampanga had children.<sup>2</sup> This figure does not include those priests who were sexually active but did not have offspring. Rufo adds that a “lawmaker from Pampanga who has extensive contacts with the Church...said that...more than half [of the priests in Pampanga were] having affairs [in 2012].”<sup>3</sup> The total number of priests who did not practice celibacy in Pampanga throughout their lives is, therefore, probably much higher. The Kapampangans did not believe this to be remarkable when it became public knowledge, since in Pampanga “fornicating priests are taken for granted.”<sup>4</sup> This reflects a cultural attitude toward clerical celibacy that, based on Rufo’s analysis, is not reflected in the broader Philippines since “among the 86 dioceses in the country, the bishopric of Pampanga boasts a singular honor: it has the highest incidence of priests engaged in extra-curricular affairs.”<sup>5</sup> The seemingly lax attitude in Pampanga towards clerical sexual activity cannot be attributed to a lack of religious conviction on the part of the local people. Belief in the Catholic faith is very “intense” in Pampanga, such that “Kapampangans are known for their deep religiosity.”<sup>6</sup>

While the attitudes in Pampanga are not nearly as open as they were during the Spanish period, there are still several ways in which cultural ideas towards priestly family life seem to have remained similar to those of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The manner in which priests who have sexual relationships with women are treated and perceived in

<sup>2</sup> Barbara Mae Dacanay, “Governor-elect priest admits romantic liaison,” *Gulfnews*, May 23, 2007, <http://m.gulfnews.com/news/asia/philippines/governor-elect-priest-admits-romantic-liasion-1.179504> (accessed August 17, 2016).

<sup>3</sup> Aries Rufo, “Pampanga’s Priests defy Celibacy,” *Rappler Newsbreak*, February 14, 2012, <http://www.rappler.com/newsbreak/935-pampanga-s-priests-defy-celibacy> (accessed August 17, 2016).

<sup>4</sup> Rufo, *Altar of Secrets*, 48.

<sup>5</sup> Rufo, “Pampanga’s Priests defy Celibacy.”

<sup>6</sup> Rufo, *Altar of Secrets*, 48.; Rufo, “Pampanga’s Priests defy Celibacy.”

Pampanga fit into two main categories that will be addressed in this section: first, the way that the general public views and reacts to the actions taken by the priests and second, the attitudes of the local church hierarchy. Both are important to the discussion of the cultural differences between Pampanga and the broader Philippines and the world in terms of the levels of acceptance towards the sexual activity of priests.

There have been several high profile incidents in Pampanga in which priests openly admitted to having sexual relationships with women, sometimes resulting in children. In each of these, the Kapampangans not only accepted the priest after finding out, they actually gave a positive response, which seems to imply that the local people are not merely neutral towards priests having children, they actually favor it. For example, in 2002 Fr. Crispin Cadiang admitted to having two children on live television.<sup>7</sup> The number of people who attended his church increased markedly after these revelations became public knowledge. Had people been disgusted by the idea or disapproved in any way, the numbers would have gone down. Had parishioners not cared one way or the other there would not have been statistically significant changes in church attendance in the wake of the priest's public announcement of what most Catholics around the world would deem a grave sin. The pope, for instance, was "scandalized by the lifestyle and conduct of some Filipino priests" like Cadiang.<sup>8</sup> Cadiang resigned of his own volition a year after the revelation that he had children was made on TV, but he was never required to do so by pressure from the people or the

<sup>7</sup> Rufo, *Altar of Secrets*, 47.

<sup>8</sup> Aries Rufo, "Pampanga's Demons," *Rappler Newsbreak*, February 16, 2004, <http://archives.newsbreak-knowledge.ph/2004/02/16/pampangas-demons/> (accessed April 01, 2015).

church hierarchy. In the eyes of the Catholic Church, Cadiang “essentially remained a priest” and the archbishop of Pampanga, Paciano Aniceto, “appeared reluctant to let go of Cadiang.”<sup>9</sup> In fact, Cadiang sent Aniceto “three letters of resignation before the archbishop allowed him to resign.” Cadiang later became a politician.<sup>10</sup> This would have been difficult had the local culture not been so permissive of his earlier sexual activity while he was still a priest.

A further example is Fr. Eddie Tongol Panlilio, who announced that he had had sexual relationships with women during his campaign for governor of Pampanga in 2007, and it was widely believed that these liaisons had resulted in children. This included relations with “at least...five women.”<sup>11</sup> The revelation of Panlilio’s illegitimate children was initially made to the press by a Protestant group called the Jesus is Lord Movement.<sup>12</sup> Ostensibly, a sex scandal would result if it became public knowledge that Panlilio, as a Catholic priest, at the very least had relationships with women and also possibly had sired children. The effect of this revelation had the opposite result in that it led to a substantial surge in Panlilio’s popularity among voters. Panlilio ultimately won the election for governor of Pampanga.<sup>13</sup> Since his campaign became more popular as a result of the information about his having fathered children as a priest, it can

<sup>9</sup> Rufo, *Altar of Secrets*, 47-49.

<sup>10</sup> Ding Cervantes, “Priest, girlie bar owner form tandem for 2010 polls,” *The Philippine Star*, November 14, 2009, <http://www.philstar.com/headlines/522872/priest-girlie-bar-owner-form-tandem-2010-polls> (accessed August 17, 2016).

<sup>11</sup> Rufo, “Pampanga’s Priests defy Celibacy.”

<sup>12</sup> Rufo, *Altar of Secrets*, 48.

<sup>13</sup> Dacanay. “Governor-elect priest admits romantic liaison.”; Rufo, *Altar of Secrets*, 48-49.



reasonably be surmised that this helped him win the election, or at the very least did not substantially hurt his chances.

In addition to the individual clerics whose lives reflect the permissive Kapampangan attitude towards sexual relationships involving priests, there is another way in which this cultural mindset can be seen. This is noticeable in the extent to which people in Pampanga donate money to the church when compared with how much this is practiced in other parts of the contemporary Philippines. It is important to also look at how both Pampanga and the broader 21<sup>st</sup>-century Philippines compare to the islands during the Spanish period in that regard. The 19<sup>th</sup>-century value of making frequent donations to the Church remains strong in Pampanga. The donations by “rich parishioners” to the Church in Pampanga are so frequent that many priests are supported by these contributions.<sup>14</sup> This is very much in line with the cultural attitudes held by many Filipinos during the Spanish colonial period in which large amounts of money were frequently donated to the Church, especially through the “philanthropy of [the] wealthy.”<sup>15</sup> Outside Pampanga in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, however, support for donating money to Catholic churches has substantially declined throughout the rest of the Philippines due to the belief that the funds will be used for the upkeep of priestly families.<sup>16</sup> Despite the seeming national trends that do not favor sexually active priests in the same sense as in Pampanga, it would, nevertheless, be important to conduct a

<sup>14</sup> Rufo, *Altar of Secrets*, 48.

<sup>15</sup> Raquel Reyes, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, 133-134.

<sup>16</sup> Abbott, *A History of Celibacy*, 380.

deeper analysis, on other provinces specifically, before drawing any final conclusions about whether or not Pampanga is truly unique in this regard.

A further point that could be the subject of additional research relates to the history of the local church hierarchy in Pampanga in terms of its support for clerics when they have children, specifically, the reasons why this seemingly favorable attitude is so strong, and the effects that these perceptions have had on the politics and culture of the area. The reasons why seem to be due in part to the political power wielded by the priests themselves within the local hierarchy. Although the local church leadership has normally supported the concept of priests having sexual relationships with women, there was at least one instance where this was not the case. Oscar Cruz (who was not originally from Pampanga so was probably not influenced by its cultural preferences) served as archbishop of Pampanga during the 1980s and tried unsuccessfully to suppress local support for priests in sexual relationships. He was effectively deposed by an organized group of priests from within Pampanga who opposed his policies. This resulted in the appointment of a new archbishop who had attitudes more in line with the local realities.<sup>17</sup> The local church authorities have publicly declared in several instances (both before and after Cruz was deposed) that it is acceptable for priests to have children.<sup>18</sup> It has also financially supported the children of priests in church-run schools and orphanages (an orphanage where this was known to take place is physically located in Manila, but the offspring of priests associated with Pampanga are believed to

<sup>17</sup> Rufo, "Pampanga's Demons."

<sup>18</sup> Rufo, *Altar of Secrets*, 7, 49.; Earl K. Wilkinson, "Subject: Maria Luiza Robles," in *People Priests and Pedophiles*, ed. Earl K. Wilkinson, (Makati, Philippines: International Research Foundation, 1994), 94.

have been enrolled there).<sup>19</sup> The local church has also repeatedly refused to fire priests who have had sexual relations, even when presented with evidence of negative action on the part of the cleric. In the 1990s, Fr. Arnold Rivera, in San Fernando, was accused of “sexually harassing” and eventually raping a woman who was a church choir member. The incidents involving Rivera’s alleged criminal behavior were reported several times to then Pampanga archbishop, Paciano B. Aniceto. They were initially ignored, but eventually the bishop defended the priest by stating that the church “cannot [fire Rivera]” because “he is also human.” After the victim contacted the media, the church authorities continued to support the priest. The situation in Pampanga is, therefore, different from those detailed in Chapter 2 in which church authorities would intervene when priests were sexually active if that information became public knowledge.

The church, via “an emissary of Bishop Aniceto,” unsuccessfully attempted to bribe Fr. Rivera’s alleged victim into dropping the charges.<sup>20</sup> It seems unlikely that this was an isolated incident since “a ranking church dignitary offered P50,000 to [another] victim’s relatives to dissuade them from filing a case in court” after that woman had also accused a priest of rape. That second case occurred in Angeles City and the resulting cover-up involved church officials who were led by the same archbishop, Paciano B.

<sup>19</sup> Rufo, *Altar of Secrets*, 3-5, 25.

<sup>20</sup> Ann Maris Lim Antig, “Playing God,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, October 13, 1993, in *People Priests and Pedophiles*, ed. Earl K. Wilkinson, (Makati, Philippines: International Research Foundation, 1994), 95.; Earl K. Wilkinson, “Subject: Maria Luiza Robles,” 93-94. 02, 1993, in *People Priests and Pedophiles*, ed. Earl K. Wilkinson, (Makati, Philippines: International Research Foundation, 1994), 93-94.; Christian Evangelista, Letter to “Most Rev. Bishop Paciano B. Aniceto, Archbishop of Pampanga,” September 18, 1993, in *People Priests and Pedophiles*, ed. Earl K. Wilkinson, (Makati, Philippines: International Research Foundation, 1994), 91-92.

Aniceto.<sup>21</sup> There was also at least one documented case in which a priest (Fr. Jeffrey Louie Maghirang) had an affair with a married woman. Fr. Maghirang also had a son, but it is unclear if the child's mother was the same woman involved in the adultery suit. In that case, the husband of the priest's lover sued the priest in court for adultery and the church paid for the priest's legal fees and provided him with a lawyer, in spite of the church's prior knowledge that the priest was guilty.<sup>22</sup> According to Philippine journalist Aries Rufo in his articles and book and Australian researcher Earl Wilkinson, there have been numerous other cases in which priests have broken sexual laws imposed by either the Philippine government or the broader Catholic Church, and in which the local church hierarchy of Pampanga has provided the offending priest with legal counsel and supported him every step of the way, even after his guilt was readily apparent.<sup>23</sup> There was also a "quota system" in Pampanga for many years, "which allowed a priest to remain in the ministry if he fathered only one child" but in which action would theoretically be taken "only when he begets a second child." This was already in place long before Oscar Cruz became archbishop and was one of the policies that he opposed.<sup>24</sup> This implies that the local church officials do not view sexual relationships involving clerics in the same negative light as in other parts of the world (and perhaps the Philippines) where a priest who is publicly revealed to be involved in such a liaison

<sup>21</sup>Jay Sangil, "Priest in Rape case Missing," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, October 29, 1993, in *People Priests and Pedophiles*, ed. Earl K. Wilkinson, (Makati, Philippines: International Research Foundation, 1994), 95-96.

<sup>22</sup> Rufo, "Pampanga's Priests defy Celibacy."

<sup>23</sup> Rufo, "Pampanga's Priests defy Celibacy."; Wilkinson, "Subject: Maria Luiza Robles," 91-98.; Rufo, *Altar of Secrets*, 44-51.

<sup>24</sup> Rufo, *Altar of Secrets*, 7.

would face significant social ostracism and would lose his position in the event that the allegations were proven.<sup>25</sup>

In a similar vein, it would be worth pursuing further what happened in regard to the treatment of sexually active priests and any resulting children in Pampanga during the period between the end of Spanish colonialism and when Oscar Cruz began his term as archbishop. Archbishop Cruz began his term in a diocese that already favored romantic involvements for priests. It is also clear that this cultural attribute was well-established in Pampanga and had been there for some time. Similar cultural practices can also be seen in the Spanish colonial period. The conclusion to be drawn is that the situation in Pampanga from the time that Cruz took office to the present was related to the fact that the same attribute existed in the culture of the area during the Spanish period. It is not, however, clear from the sources used why these ideas continued to exist in Pampanga in such a prominent way when they ostensibly declined in other parts of the Philippines. The American colonial regime was opposed to clerical sexual activity. The presence of the Clark Air Force Base only three miles from Angeles City would, therefore, ostensibly mean that the Americans were in a position to significantly influence the culture of the surrounding area in regard to the topic at hand. Clearly this did not happen, or if it did the process reversed itself sometime before Cruz came to power. Perhaps this was influenced in some way through the philanthropic and

<sup>25</sup> Rufo, *Altar of Secrets*, vi-viii, 4-5.; Stephen Joseph Fichter, "When Priests Leave the Church: How common is Alberto Cuti's Journey to Protestant Ministry?" *America: The National Catholic Review*, October 05, 2009, <http://americamagazine.org/issue/709/100/when-priests-leave-church> (accessed August 17, 2016).; John L. Allen Jr., *The Future Church: How Ten Trends are Revolutionizing the Catholic Church*, (New York: Crown Publishing Group, 2009), 49.

religious actions of the Nepomucenos and others like them who were openly known to descend from priests, yet were clearly revered by many people in their time. This topic would merit further exploration.

It would also be worth examining the history of clerical celibacy and children of priests in Peru alongside that in the Philippines. The cultural values in many countries in Latin America resulted in the general public disapproving of clerical sexual activity and there being substantial stigma associated with the lovers and children of priests. Despite being surrounded by countries that disapproved of such clerical relationships, the end result of Peru's cultural development was similar to that of Pampanga in that it favored, or at least did not disfavor, priests who had girlfriends (or the priests' lovers and children). A comprehensive study of the history of clerical celibacy in Peru would clearly be far too extensive to include in this thesis alongside the parts of this present study on similar issues in the Philippines. In order to establish a possible pattern between the two, it would be important to understand why this particular cultural attribute developed in a similar way in both these former Spanish colonies.

The timing of the publication of *A Cofradia of Two* could be important in order to establish why the Nepomucenos chose June 2004 as the specific time to publicize their priestly ancestry. It may have been influenced by the publication and resulting public response of several news articles in the Philippines and books by the international community about priests having children in various parts of the country. These were all published between 2003 and February 2004. The public in Pampanga reacted positively toward revelations that local priests were having children. A well-publicized

example of this occurred after it was revealed on TV that a priest named Crispin Cadiang had children and, subsequently, his congregation substantially increased in size. Since *A Cofradia of Two* was published in June 2004, which was several months after the most significant articles about priests having children were published, it is likely that the Nepomucenos would have known about the positive public response towards priests having children in Pampanga. As a result, they could reasonably assume that the public would not react negatively to a revelation of the Nepomucenos' priestly ancestry and that the local people might even perceive it positively as they had in the other cases. I could not find sufficient information while researching the current thesis to establish if this widespread media attention contributed to the timing when the Nepomucenos published their book. *A Cofradia of Two* was published through the Juan D. Nepomuceno Center for Kapampangan Studies at Holy Angel University. I emailed the Center at the contact address listed on their website and asked them questions about the motivation behind publishing *A Cofradia of Two* and if there was any significance to the timing. They did not reply, but this issue could still be pursued further. The most likely source of reliable information about why the Nepomucenos subjectively decided that 2004 was an advantageous time to publish would probably be best answered through an interview of someone familiar with the subject matter.

An additional topic that could merit further research relates to the commonality of the pride that the Nepomucenos seem to feel towards their descent from a Spanish priest. The Nepomucenos are not unique among elite and former elite families who have highlighted their descent from a priest publicly. There is evidence that at least

some other Kampampangans are also proud to have priests in their ancestry, including but not limited to claiming descent from a priest. The Gonzalez family of Apalit descends from a Spanish priest, Fausto Ambrosio Lopez (1811-1866), who had six children with a local elite woman, Maria Amparo “Mariqueta” Gonzalez, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>26</sup> Like the Nepomucenos, the Gonzalez family published a detailed record of their priestly descent. Since the Gonzalezes lost most of their wealth during the Marcos administration and do not own their own publishing company, they made their genealogy available by posting extensively in two blogs (created by Gonzalez cousins who both trace their descent from the same priest) instead of writing about it in books.<sup>27</sup> Another descendant of Fausto Lopez wrote a newspaper article that described her clerical ancestor and his relationship with his lover in detail and explicitly stated that she was “proud of him.” She also included her name, photo, and phone number in the article.<sup>28</sup> Both the Gonzalez and Nepomuceno claims of priestly descent follow the same basic model of mostly oral history passed down from previous generations, supplemented with supporting primary source documentation. The Gonzalez family makes no attempt to hide its pride in its priestly origins and explicitly states that the grandmother of one of the blog authors was proud that her ancestor was a priest. She often told stories about this and promoted the fact among family members.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Franco, “Apalit Gonzales.”; Toto Gonzalez, “Remembrance of Things Gone Awry.”; Camiling, “Biographies of Famous Kapampangans.”; Familysearch.org, “Spain, Baptisms, 1502-1940.”

<sup>27</sup> Franco, “Apalit Gonzales.”; Toto Gonzalez, “Remembrance of Things Gone Awry.”

<sup>28</sup> Barbara C. Gonzalez, “A Friar in the Family,” *The Philippine Star*, November 12, 2011, <http://www.philstar.com/modern-living/746743/friar-family> (accessed August 17, 2016).

<sup>29</sup> Toto Gonzalez, “Remembrance of Things Gone Awry.”



Members of elite families are not the only people in the region in which Pampanga is located who openly write about personal connections to priests who have had children. It is not entirely clear where he is from (so a link to Pampanga is not definitively established), but Fr. Francis Cruz, who has family ties in central Luzon, published a memoir through Ateneo de Manila University Press in which he went into great detail about his experiences as they related to having a son. These included the circumstances in which Fr. Cruz met his son's "choirgirl" mother, how Fr. Cruz felt about fatherhood up until the boy was several years old, all the reasons why he chose to have a child, and his resulting life experiences.<sup>30</sup> While it is clear that the author is at least somewhat conflicted about his decision and how it fits into church law, he openly wrote about it and put his name, picture, and place of employment in the book. He also went into extreme detail about his life as a biological father. These do not appear to be the actions of someone who wants to cover up an act about which he feels ashamed, so additional research could be worthwhile in order to establish the extent or nature of favorable attitudes towards sexually active priests in Luzon.

Another topic of interest that was revealed as a result of researching this thesis topic was the fact that children of priests who were born in Pampanga immigrated to Spain in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and married Spaniards there. As was established in Chapter 2, the culture in Europe was very unfavorable towards the children of priests in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Spain in particular had a long history of treating clerical offspring deplorably.

<sup>30</sup> Francis Cruz, *The Absolution: Reflections on Faith, the Priesthood, and All Those Uncomfortable Spaces in Between*, (Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2013), 1-15.

Both Fr. Nicolas Guillermo Masnou and Fr. Fausto Ambrosio Lopez had children with Filipino women in Pampanga who moved to Spain during adulthood, married Spaniards, and appear to have settled there. Rita Gonzalez, daughter of Fausto Ambrosio Lopez and Maria Amparo Gonzalez, married Jose Llorca in Spain and had at least two children with him: Ramon and Araceli Llorca. They resided in Spain after that.<sup>31</sup> Pedro Agustin Gomez, son of Nicolas Guillermo Masnou and Patricia Mercado, was born in Angeles City in 1857. On April 22, 1880 he married his paternal first cousin, Casilda Masnou, in the church of San Juan Bautista in his father's hometown, in Valladolid City, Valladolid, Spain.<sup>32</sup> I did not find any information to indicate whether or not Pedro and Casilda had any children. It is not clear where Rita met Jose or where they married or ultimately settled, so it is not impossible that he was unaware that she was the daughter of a priest. Pedro, however, returned to his father's hometown where Nicolas's status as a priest would presumably be known. He also married a member of his own extended family who would certainly have known that Pedro's father left Valladolid as a priest prior to Pedro's birth. It, therefore, seems likely that a certain degree of acceptance of priestly offspring must have existed in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Spain in order for these relationships to have taken place or, at least, to have been officiated at the local church. Following this topic further would probably require use of Spanish primary sources, which have not yet been digitized, or perhaps additional resources from the Philippines created by members of the extended families who remained there. An in depth examination of the

<sup>31</sup> Franco, "Apalit Gonzales."

<sup>32</sup> Familysearch.org, "Spain, Marriages, 1565-1950," <https://familysearch.org/search/collection/1500693> (accessed August 17, 2016).; De Sequera Family, "De Sequera Family Genealogy Project."

lives of Pedro Gomez and Rita Gonzalez after their move to Spain and those of any other Philippine-born children of priests in similar situations could make an interesting further study. It could also be important to explore how they were perceived and treated as Spanish mestizo/as married to Spaniards in Spain during the revolutionary and post-revolutionary time periods, in addition to the factors related to their priestly parentage.

A related topic is an examination of whether or not there was any connection between the culture in Valladolid, Spain and the permissive way in which the sexual activity of priests and their resulting offspring were treated and perceived in Pampanga. Both Fr. Masnou and Fr. Lopez were born in Valladolid City. Their emigration to the Philippines occurred within less than 25 years of each other. This sample size is clearly too small for any conclusions to be reached. There were also many Spanish priests in other parts of the Philippines who were from elsewhere in Spain who were sexually active, had children, and were accepted by their communities in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Nevertheless, the similarities in the backgrounds of the two Spanish priests connected to the Nepomuceno family may merit further study.

An additional related topic concerns the Spanish genealogy of the two priests that were described in this study. Both priests were from the same city in Spain. I traced their genealogy back hundreds of years and found that both Fr. Masnou and Fr. Lopez had ancestors in the Valladolid area at least as far back as the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>33</sup> The earliest ancestor of either priest that I have yet found was Fr. Lopez's sixth great-

<sup>33</sup> Familysearch.org, "Spain, Baptisms, 1502-1940."; Familysearch.org, "Spain, Marriages, 1565-1950."

grandmother, Maria Alvarez Fleite, who had a daughter named Helena Alvarez baptized in the church of San Esteban in Aguilar de Campos, Valladolid, Spain on October 22, 1534.<sup>34</sup> Since both priests had ancestry in the same area for so long it is entirely possible that there is a genealogical link in Spain between the two. The combination of a relatively small population, the fact that travel was less common, and a tendency for people to have large families suggest a possible, and even probable, genealogical relationship between the two priests. I have not yet found a link to establish such a connection. I did, however, find a potentially compelling piece of evidence in that Fr. Lopez's second great-grandmother was surnamed Gomez. Manuela Gomez (1677-?) was born in Valladolid City to Andres Gomez and Ynes Fernandez. She had at least five siblings.<sup>35</sup> As was established in the main text of this thesis, Fr. Masnou's children took the Gomez surname because it also belonged to Fr. Masnou's mother, Ysabel. I have not yet been able to trace Fr. Masnou's Gomez line as far back as Manuela's generation, but his earliest known ancestor of that line, his second great-grandfather Carlos Gomez, did reside in the Valladolid area.<sup>36</sup> It would take additional research with Spanish primary sources in order to establish such a link, if it in fact exists. For a genealogist, an ancestral connection between the two priests themselves would be fascinating. It might also be useful for determining if there was anything in the family background of the two priests that influenced their own life choices.

<sup>34</sup> Familysearch.org, "Spain, Baptisms, 1502-1940."

<sup>35</sup> Familysearch.org, "Spain, Baptisms, 1502-1940."; Familysearch.org, "Spain, Marriages, 1565-1950."

<sup>36</sup> Familysearch.org, "Spain, Marriages, 1565-1950."

Another genealogy related topic that could be researched further is the extent to which the family connections (including links from distant in-law/allied lines) played a role in the politics of the Philippines. The emphasis for this topic would be on the more distant genealogical relationships that I found between the Nepomucenos and people who were nationally important in the politics of the Philippines, including but not limited to presidents. I did not mention them in the thesis chapters because I felt that the connections were more distant than non-genealogists would see as meaningful or be able to follow. Nevertheless, I did trace the connections of the tree that includes the Nepomucenos to include eleven out of the sixteen official presidents of the Philippines, including (in order served), Emilio Aguinaldo,<sup>37</sup> Manuel Quezon,<sup>38</sup> Jose Laurel,<sup>39</sup> Sergio

<sup>37</sup> Earl Meech, "Emilio F. Aguinaldo," <http://boards.ancestrylibrary.com/thread.aspx?mv=flat&m=2&p=surnames.aguinaldo> (accessed November 02, 2013).; Aguivent, "Re: Emilio F. Aguinaldo," <http://boards.ancestrylibrary.com/thread.aspx?mv=flat&m=2&p=surnames.aguinaldo> (accessed November 02, 2013).; Angelo Aguinaldo, "Re: Emilio F. Aguinaldo," <http://boards.ancestrylibrary.com/thread.aspx?o=20&m=2.10.1&p=surnames.aguinaldo> (accessed November 02, 2013).; Mona Magno-Veluz, "Aguinaldo Family Tree," <http://www.geni.com/people/Emilio-Famy-Aguinaldo/6000000010571050479> (accessed November 02, 2013).; Sales "Philippine Politics and Genealogy."

<sup>38</sup> Sales, "Philippine Politics and Genealogy."; Amir Nasser Dela Cruz Salamat, "Official Website of the Descendants of Jong-Su (Martin Tugol)," <http://jung-su.webs.com/19thcenturybloodline.htm> (accessed April 14, 2014).; Todd Lucero Sales, "The Roxas-Zobel-Soriano Family of Manila and Capiz," 2011, author emailed article in GoogleDoc upon request (accessed July 24, 2014).

<sup>39</sup> Todd Lucero Sales, "Philippine Politics and Genealogy."; O'Brien, DeWitt, Attorney-General Villamor, "G.R. No. L-7037: The United States, plaintiff-appellee, vs. Jose Laurel, et al., defendants-appellants," Manila, Philippines: Republic of the Philippines Supreme Court, March 15, 1912, [http://www.lawphil.net/judjuris/juri1912/mar1912/gr\\_l-7037\\_1912.html](http://www.lawphil.net/judjuris/juri1912/mar1912/gr_l-7037_1912.html) (accessed August 17, 2016).; McCoy, *An Anarchy of Families: State and Family in the Philippines*, 418.; Familysearch.org, "Philippines, Marriages, 1723-1957."; Salamat, "Official Website of the Descendants of Jong-Su (Martin Tugol)."

Osmena,<sup>40</sup> Manuel Roxas,<sup>41</sup> Ramon Magsaysay,<sup>42</sup> Ferdinand Marcos,<sup>43</sup> Corazon

Cojuangco,<sup>44</sup> Fidel Ramos,<sup>45</sup> Joseph Estrada,<sup>46</sup> and Benigno Aquino, III.<sup>47</sup> I also linked

<sup>40</sup> Franco, "Apalit Gonzales."; Marlyna O. Sevilla, *The Living Past*, (Bloomington, Indiana: Xlibris Corporation, 2008) GoogleBooks e-book.; McCoy, *An Anarchy of Families: State and Family in the Philippines*, GoogleBooks e-book.; Michael Cullinane, "Illustrado Politics: The Response of the Filipino Educated Elite to American Colonial Rule, 1898-1907," (PhD Diss., University of Michigan, 1980).; Sales, "Philippine Politics and Genealogy."

<sup>41</sup> Salamat, "Official Website of the Descendants of Jong-Su (Martin Tungol)."; Sales, "Philippine Politics and Genealogy."; Sales, "The Roxas-Zobel-Soriano Family of Manila and Capiz."

<sup>42</sup> Fe Zamora, "The Incredible Burden of Being Genelyn Magsaysay," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, May 05, 2012, <http://lifestyle.inquirer.net/46505/the-incredible-burden-of-being-genelyn-magsaysay> (accessed April 15, 2014).; Jean Grossholtz, *Land Reform and Rural Development in the Philippines: Political Imperatives and Political Impediments*, (New York: Asia Society, 1967). GoogleBooks e-book.; Wah and Singh., *Southeast Asian Affairs*. GoogleBooks e-book.; Miriam Grace A. Go, "The Wealth of the Old Man Revilla," *Rappler Newsbreak*, April 01, 2014, <http://www.rappler.com/newsbreak/42959-wealth-old-man-revilla> (accessed August 17, 2016).; Sheila S. Coronel, ed., *Investigating Estrada: Millions, Mansions, and Mistresses*, (Manila, Philippines: Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism, 2000), GoogleBooks e-book.; McCoy, *An Anarchy of Families*, GoogleBooks e-book. Familysearch.org, "Philippines, Marriages, 1723-1957."; Salamat, "Official Website of the Descendants of Jong-Su (Martin Tungol)."

<sup>43</sup> Anonymous, "Marcos Family Tree," <http://www.geni.com/people/Ferdinand-Emmanuel-Marcos/6000000002947209371> (accessed November 01, 2013).; Sheila S. Coronel, ed., *Investigating Estrada: Millions, Mansions, and Mistresses*. GoogleBooks e-book.; Frank Walker, "Philandering Dictator added Hollywood Star to Conquests," *The Sun Herald*, July 04, 2004, <http://www.smh.com.au/articles/2004/07/03/1088488200812.html> (accessed April 06, 2014).; Steinberg, *The Philippines*. GoogleBooks e-book.; Ellen Tordesillas, "Marcos Australian Daughter Dropped from Reality Show," <http://www.ellentordesillas.com/2011/03/30/marcos-australian-daughter-dropped-from-reality-show/> (accessed April 10, 2014).; Frank Walker, "Hunt for Tyrant's Millions Leads to Former Model's Home," *The Sun Herald*, July 04, 2004, <http://www.smh.com.au/articles/2004/07/03/1088488200806.html> (accessed April 10, 2014).; Kathleen M. Nadeau, *The History of the Philippines*, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2008), GoogleBooks e-book.; *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, "Eduardo Romualdez, ex-envoy to US, dies," July 21, 2001, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=2479&dat=20010721&id=hqU2AAAAIBAJ&sjid=hSUMAAAAIBA&pg=674,1943732> (accessed July 23, 2014).; Sales, "Philippine Politics and Genealogy."; Seagrave, *The Marcos Dynasty*, GoogleBooks e-book.

<sup>44</sup> Coronel, ed., *Investigating Estrada: Millions, Mansions, and Mistresses*, GoogleBooks e-book.; Salamat, "Official Website of the Descendants of Jong-Su (Martin Tungol)."; McCoy, *An Anarchy of Families*, GoogleBooks e-book.; Seagrave, *The Marcos Dynasty*, GoogleBooks e-book.; Kang, *Crony Capitalism*, GoogleBooks e-book.; Sales, "Philippine Politics and Genealogy."

<sup>45</sup> Sales, "Philippine Politics and Genealogy."; Familysearch.org, "Philippines, Marriages, 1723-1957."; Steinberg, *The Philippines*.; Nadeau, *The History of the Philippines*, GoogleBooks e-book.; Seagrave, *The Marcos Dynasty*, GoogleBooks e-book.

<sup>46</sup> Todd Lucero Sales, "RP: Politics Still a Family Affair," [fil-gen-pro.blogspot.com/2012/02/rp-politics-still-family-affair.html](http://fil-gen-pro.blogspot.com/2012/02/rp-politics-still-family-affair.html) (accessed September 05, 2016).; R.T.M.R.A.D., "The Life and Works of Gregoria de Jesus," [gregoriajesus.blogspot.com/2013/03/gregoria-de-jesus-1st-filipina-to-to.html](http://gregoriajesus.blogspot.com/2013/03/gregoria-de-jesus-1st-filipina-to-to.html) (accessed September 05, 2016).

<sup>47</sup> Salamat, "Official Website of the Descendants of Jong-Su (Martin Tungol)."

Andres Bonifacio<sup>48</sup> and Miguel Malvar<sup>49</sup> into the tree. They are sometimes also considered presidents of the Philippines and were certainly very important during the revolutionary period. Other prominent people connected to the revolutionary period/movement who are distantly linked to the Nepomuceno family genealogically include Jose Rizal<sup>50</sup> and Antonio Luna.<sup>51</sup> Some of these, such as Rizal, Roxas, and Marcos, are linked to the extended Nepomuceno family in several different places (meaning that they are related to them through several different lines at the same time). It would be interesting and potentially important to a study of politics in the Philippines to explore the extent (if any) to which these genealogical connections influenced political decisions or in other ways had some sort of discernible impact, be it at the local or national level.

Another genealogical topic that I discovered while researching the Nepomuceno family that could be explored further is the extent to which families with elite ancestry in multiple parts of the Spanish empire existed and the effects this had, if any. The elite

<sup>48</sup> Sales, "Philippine Politics and Genealogy."; Villacorte, *Baliwag*, GoogleBooks e-book.; Camiling, "Biographies of Famous Kapampangans."; Anonymous, "Nakpil Family Tree," <https://www.geni.com/people/Ariston-Nakpil/6000000002642336320> (accessed April 01, 2016).

<sup>49</sup> Ancestry.com, "Historical Person Search," <http://www.ancestry.com/genealogy/records/> (accessed April 13, 2014).; Familysearch.org, "Philippines, Marriages, 1723-1957."; Familysearch.org, "Philippines Deaths and Burials, 1726-1957," <https://familysearch.org/search/collection/1500714> (accessed November 01, 2013).; Maria Elizabeth Del Valle Embry, "Embry & Allied Families of Paniqui," [http://paniqui\\_embry.tripod.com/alliedfam/aqwg14.htm](http://paniqui_embry.tripod.com/alliedfam/aqwg14.htm) (accessed April 17, 2014).

<sup>50</sup> Embry, "Embry & Allied Families of Paniqui."; Marciano R. de Borja, *Basques in the Philippines*, (Reno, Nevada: University of Nevada Press, 2005) GoogleBooks e-book.; Sales, "Philippine Politics and Genealogy."; Shubert S.C. Liao, *Chinese Participation in Philippine Culture and Economy*, (Manila, Philippines, University of the East, 1964) GoogleBooks e-book.; Jose Rizal University, "Rizal, the Romantic," <http://www.joserizal.ph/lv01.html> (accessed November 25, 2015).; Anonymous, "12 Women in Rizal's Life before Bracken," <http://www.the12list.com/2014/06/12-women-in-rizals-life-before-bracken.html> (accessed November 25, 2015).; Villacorte, *Baliwag!*, GoogleBooks e-book.; McCoy, *An Anarchy of Families*, GoogleBooks e-book.; Stanley Karnow, *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines*, (New York: Ballantine Books, 1989), GoogleBooks e-book.

<sup>51</sup> Karnow, *In Our Image*, GoogleBooks e-book.; McCoy, *An Anarchy of Families*, GoogleBooks e-book.

Zobel de Ayala family is interconnected with several presidential families in the Philippines (who are all distantly related to the Nepomucenos by marriage). The Zobel de Ayala family is descended from elite Filipino families, but is also descended from pre-colonial Latin American royalty. The Spanish brought Latin American royals to Spain and their own nobility married them under the assumption that this would allow the offspring of these unions to legally inherit the conquered lands in the Americas.<sup>52</sup> Descendants of these unions later migrated to the Philippines where they married Filipinos. The Zobel de Ayala family descends from one such union.<sup>53</sup> Such an unusual genealogy would be interesting to trace in its own right purely because it differs so much from what is commonly known. Purely genealogical interest aside, it is possible that a family descended from Spanish, Latin American, and Philippine elites might have been treated in a unique way or had some larger impact on history that has yet to be fully explored. It is also possible that it was more common than suspected.

Maria Rosa Henson was very closely related to the Nepomucenos by marriage and relatively closely related by blood. She was a member of the communist guerilla Huk movement during World War II and her husband, Domingo Averion, was killed in the Huk Rebellion after the war with Japan had ended. In the 1990s, Maria Rosa

<sup>52</sup> Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa and Baltasar de Ocampo, *History of the Incas and the Execution of the Inca Tupac Amaru*, trans. Clements Markham, (Cambridge, England: Hakluyt Society, 1907), 218-219.; Ana Maria Lorandi, *Spanish King of the Incas: The Epic Life of Pedro Bohorques*, trans. Ann de Leon, (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005), 39-40.; Frank G. Carpenter, "Montezuma and Cortez: Their Descendants have Great Estates in Spain and Mexico," *Moderator-Topics*, vol. 34, no. 1, Lansing, Michigan: Michigan School Moderator, September 04, 1913, 132.

<sup>53</sup> Mikee Roxas, "Philippine Billionaire Family Zobel de Ayala," <http://www.genealogy.com/forum/surnames/topics/ayala/362/> (accessed July 10, 2016).; Myles Garcia, *Thirty Years Later: Catching up with Marcos-Era Crimes*, (San Francisco, California: MAG Publishing, 2016), GoogleBooks e-book.



Henson published a book detailing her experience as a sex slave of the Japanese military during the Second World War. Her book also states several times that her father, Jose Pedro Henson, had raped her mother, Julia Luna. Jose Pedro was in his 50s at the time and Julia was about 14. Jose Pedro Henson was a cousin of several prominent members of the Nepomuceno family and was an important elite in his own right in both business and politics. All of the events involving Maria Rosa and Jose Pedro Henson, detailed above, could be the source of potentially serious scandals. It is unclear to what extent the public knew about Jose Pedro's relationship with Julia or Maria Rosa's connection to the Huk Rebellion or status as a so-called comfort woman during the time in which these events actually took place. However, Maria Rosa Henson's name became well-known in the 1990s when she successfully petitioned Japan for reparations. Her book states that she received negative attention from Filipinos who heard about her ordeal. It would be worth pursuing the question as to how the public perceived the Nepomuceno family in light of its connections to Maria Rosa Henson and her father once she became well-known. These could be in the same category as the scandals that might have arisen due to public knowledge about the Nepomucenos' descent from priests. I did not include the potential scandals involving Maria Rosa and Jose Pedro Henson as part of the argument about the entrenched Nepomuceno family's ability to remain in power despite scandal because the extent of public knowledge of the connection of these events to the Nepomuceno family is unclear.

## GLOSSARY

This section is a glossary of Spanish and Philippine terms, concepts, and geographic locations that are used throughout the thesis which may be unfamiliar. Many of them are also explained in the text, but this glossary provides an easy reference guide to these terms. Important councils relevant to the clerical celibacy topic are also included.

- 1.) **Council of Trent:** was a convention of high-ranking Catholic Church officials that met 1545-1563. Its original purpose was to establish how the Church should respond to the threat posed by the new Protestant sect which had begun only about 30 years before the Council of Trent. The aspect of the Council of Trent that is most relevant to this paper is that it resulted in a Catholic mandate for clerical celibacy and substantially gave rise to the negative associations with sexually active Catholic clergy in Europe that persist to this day.<sup>1</sup>
- 2.) **Escribano:** an official in the Philippines during the Spanish colonial period, an escribano served under a gobernadorcillo as part of the administration of a town. The duties of an escribano included those of both clerks and secretaries.<sup>2</sup>
- 3.) **Gobernadorcillo:** an official in the Philippines during the Spanish colonial period, a gobernadorcillo was usually an Indo or a Chinese mestizo. A gobernadorcillo was essentially a local administrator of a town. This position combined the duties of mayor and judge at the local level and was reported to

<sup>1</sup> O'Loughlin. "History of Celibacy in the Catholic Church."; Phipps, *Clerical Celibacy*, 160.; O'Malley, *Trent*.

<sup>2</sup> Artemio Guillermo, *Historical Dictionary of the Philippines*, (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc., 2012), 358.

the governor of the province in which his town was located. The heads of barangays reported to the gobernadorcillos.<sup>3</sup>

- 4.) **Ilustrado:** a member of the “educated elite” classification of Filipinos in the late Spanish colonial period. The ilustrados are alternately described as “middle class.” Regardless, they were educated non-Spanish Filipinos (although many of them had at least some Spanish ancestry).<sup>4</sup> They are important to this thesis because many of them studied abroad in Europe during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, during which time they were exposed to ideas that were unfavorable towards priests having sexual relationships with women and towards other aspects of Spanish colonialism.
- 5.) **Indio:** the Spanish colonial term for an indigenous Filipino who did not have acknowledged Spanish or Chinese descent. The indios paid the lowest amount of taxes to the Spanish authorities (based on the Spanish’s racial hierarchy) but they were also eligible for to pay labor taxes, from which the other demographics were exempt.<sup>5</sup>
- 6.) **Kapampangan:** of or relating to the Philippine province of Pampanga. A person or idea from Pampanga is referred to as Kapampangan.
- 7.) **Laguna:** a province in south central Luzon, it is southeast of Manila. Laguna is famous for being the birthplace of Jose Rizal, the national hero of the Philippines.

<sup>3</sup> Wilson, *Ambition and Identity*, 85-87.; Todd Lucero Sales, “Town Officials of Argao (1608-1898),” 2016, accessed July 10, 2016 from <<https://sites.google.com/site/argaogenealogy/spanisherapoliticalleaders>>.

<sup>4</sup>Michael Cullinane, *Ilustrado Politics: Filipino Elite Responses to American Rule, 1898-1908*, Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2003, 8-10.

<sup>5</sup> Wickberg, “The Chinese Mestizo in Philippine History,” 63-64.

- 8.) **Lucban**: a city in southeastern Luzon, Lucban is located in Quezon province. Its western side borders Laguna province.
- 9.) **Luzon**: is the largest island in the Philippines and contains the capital, Manila; over half the country's population; and 30 provinces. The provinces on Luzon for that are relevant to this thesis include Pampanga, Laguna, and Tarlac.
- 10.) **Malolos Congress**: a meeting between delegates from various parts of the Philippines with the purpose of forming a government for the "Filipino Republic whose government is popular, representative, and responsible, with three distinct branches: the executive, the legislative, and the judicial."<sup>6</sup>
- 11.) **Mestizo/ Mestiza**: a person of mixed race descent in the Philippines, especially during the Spanish colonial period. This term was generally used along with a specific ethnic term. A male was called a "mestizo" and a female was called a "mestiza." For example, a man of Spanish and Filipino descent would be referred to as a "Spanish mestizo," whereas a woman of Chinese and Filipino descent would be a "Chinese mestiza."
- 12.) **Pampanga**: a province in the Philippines, Pampanga is located in central Luzon. It directly borders Tarlac province. Pampanga is the province that is most relevant to this thesis. Angeles City, in which many of the people mentioned in the thesis lived or otherwise had connections, is located in Pampanga province.
- 13.) **Presidente municipal**: a term for mayor in the late Spanish colonial period.

<sup>6</sup> Hazel M. McFerson, ed., *Mixed Blessing: The Impact of the American Colonial Experience on Politics and Society in the Philippines*, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2002), 243.

- 14.) **Second Lateran Council:** was an ecumenical council that was held in 1139, which served the purpose of resolving issues that were prominent in the Catholic Church at that time. The main purpose was to resolve a major schismatic dispute that had occurred in 1130. The Second Lateran Council is relevant to the thesis because the church reforms included reductions to the social status of priests' wives.<sup>7</sup>
- 15.) **Tarlac:** a province in the Philippines, Tarlac is located in central Luzon. It directly borders Pampanga province. Tarlac is significant to the thesis because it is the location where elite families that lived that were genealogically connected to the Nepomucenos. One of these was the Aquino family of presidential fame.
- 16.) **Zamboanga:** is a city in southwestern Mindanao. It is one of the furthest south parts of the Philippines. Zamboanga is relevant to the thesis because a member of the Escaler family served as bishop there. The Escalers were an allied line of the Nepomucenos.

<sup>7</sup> Patricia Timmons and Robert Boenig, eds, *Gonzalo de Berceo and the Latin Miracles of the Virgin*, 136-137.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abbott, Elizabeth. *A History of Celibacy*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Da Capo Press, 2000.
- Abbott, Elizabeth. *Mistresses: A History of the Other Women*. New York: The Overlook Press, 2010.
- ABS-CBN News. "Jamby' Maria Ana Consuel Abad Santos Madrigal, 54, Businesswoman, Liberal Party." 2012. Accessed April 15, 2014. <http://halalan2013.abs-cbnnews.com/senator/bio/7/Madrigal-Maria-Ana-Consuelo-Abad-Santos.html>.
- Adair, Richard. *Courtship, Illegitimacy and Marriage in Early Modern England*. Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1996.
- Aguilos, Ramon Stephen B. "Church Realities in the Philippines: 1900-1965." *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia*, Issue 8. (1999), <http://dialnet.unirioja.es/descarga/articulo/233617.pdf> (accessed August 17, 2016).
- Aguinaldo, Angelo. "Re: Emilio F. Aguinaldo." <http://boards.ancestrylibrary.com/thread.aspx?o=20&m=2.10.1&p=surnames.aguinaldo> (accessed November 02, 2013).
- Aguivent. "Re: Emilio F. Aguinaldo." <http://boards.ancestrylibrary.com/thread.aspx?mv=flat&m=2&p=surnames.aguinaldo> (accessed November 02, 2013).
- Agustin, Victor. "Valdes vs Valdes." *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, July 11, 2006. Accessed [http://business.inquirer.net/money/columns/view/20060711-9294/Valdes\\_vs\\_Valdes](http://business.inquirer.net/money/columns/view/20060711-9294/Valdes_vs_Valdes) (accessed April 15, 2014).
- Allen, John L. Jr. *The Future Church: How Ten Trends are Revolutionizing the Catholic Church*. New York: Crown Publishing Group, 2009.
- Altman, Ida. *Transatlantic Ties in the Spanish Empire: Brihuega, Spain & Puebla, Mexico, 1560-1620*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2000.
- Amyot, Jacques. *The Manila Chinese: Familism in the Philippine Environment*. Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Institute of Philippine Culture, 1973.
- Ancestry.com. "Historical Person Search." [http://records.ancestry.com/earl\\_truman\\_carpenter\\_records.ashx?pid=77036564](http://records.ancestry.com/earl_truman_carpenter_records.ashx?pid=77036564) (accessed April 13, 2014).

- Ancestry.com. "Public Member Photos & Scanned Documents."  
<http://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=1093> (accessed April 15, 2014).
- Anderson, Benedict. *The Spectre of Comparisons: Nationalism, Southeast Asia and the World*. London: New Left Books, 1998.
- Anderson, Gerald R. *Subic Bay: From Magellan to Pinatubo: The History of the U.S. Naval Station, Subic Bay*. Dagupan City, Philippines: Lazer, 2006.
- Anderson, Jane. *Priests in Love: Roman Catholic Clergy and Their Intimate Relationships*. New York: Continuum, 2005.
- Anderson, Warwick. "Immunization and Hygiene in the Colonial Philippines." *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*. Vol 62. Issue, 1. (January 2007). 1-20.
- Andres, Tomas D. *Negotiating by Filipino Values*. Manila, Philippines: Divine Word Publications, 1988.
- Andresen, Astri. *Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood in History and Society*, s.v. "Bastardy." New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 2004.  
<http://www.faqs.org/childhood/Ar-Bo/Bastardy.html> (accessed August 17, 2016).
- Angeles City. "City History." [http://www.angelescity.gov.ph/city/city\\_history](http://www.angelescity.gov.ph/city/city_history) (accessed August 16, 2016).
- Angeles City Museum. "Heritage Sites." <http://museoningangeles.blogspot.com/> (accessed April 10, 2014).
- Anonymous. "12 Women in Rizal's Life before Bracken."  
<http://www.the12list.com/2014/06/12-women-in-rizals-life-before-bracken.html> (accessed November 25, 2015).
- Anonymous. "La Salle's Bro. Bernie Bounces Back with Bang,"  
<http://cocktalesblog.wordpress.com/2007/05/30/443/> (accessed April 15, 2014).
- Anonymous. "Marcos Family Tree." <http://www.geni.com/people/Ferdinand-Emmanuel-Marcos/6000000002947209371> (accessed November 01, 2013).
- Anonymous. "Nakpil Family Tree." <https://www.geni.com/people/Ariston-Nakpil/6000000002642336320> (accessed April 01, 2016).
- Antig, Ann Maris Lim. "Playing God." *Philippine Daily Inquirer*. October 13, 1993. In *People Priests and Pedophiles*, edited by Earl K. Wilkinson. Makati, Philippines: International Research Foundation, 1994.
- Appleby, Joyce, Eileen K. Cheng, and Joanne L. Goodwin, editors. *Encyclopedia of Women in American History*. s.v. "Child Support." New York: Taylor & Francis, 2002.

- Arcache, Maurice. "Grand Family Bash Marks Miladay's 45th Anniversary." *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, December 01, 2010. Accessed April 15, 2014.  
<http://lifestyle.inquirer.net/homeandentertaining/homeandentertaining/view/20101201-306249/Grand-family-bash-marks-Miladays-45th-anniversary>.
- Archdiocese of Baltimore. "His Eminence James Cardinal Gibbons: Ninth Archbishop of Baltimore." <http://www.archbalt.org/about-us/the-archdiocese/our-history/people/gibbons.cfm> (accessed August 11, 2016).
- Asian Women's Fund. "Testimonies of the Victims." Digital Museum: The Comfort Women Issue and the Asian Women's Fund, interview taken 1992.  
<http://www.awf.or.jp/e3/oralhistory-00.html> (accessed April 10, 2014).
- Ateneo de Zamboanga University. "Fr. Aureo G. Nepomuceno SJ, 1921-2014." [www.adzu.edu.ph/index.php/archive/3007-fr-aureo-g-nepomuceno-sj-1921-2014.html](http://www.adzu.edu.ph/index.php/archive/3007-fr-aureo-g-nepomuceno-sj-1921-2014.html) (accessed August 24, 2016).
- Avendano, Christine O. and Cyril Bonabente. "Manuel Collantes is dead; 91." *Philippine Inquirer*, May 29, 2009. Accessed April 15, 2014.  
<http://globalnation.inquirer.net/news/news/view/20090529-207727/Manuel-Collantes-is-dead-91>.
- Barnes, Albert. *Notes, Explanatory and Practical on the Epistles of Paul to the Thessalonians, to Timothy, to Titus, and to Philemon*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1846.
- Barrows, David Prescott. *A History of the Philippines*. New York: American Book Company, 1905.
- Bauer, Sandy Whalen. "Ancestors of Sandra (Whalen) Bauer." <http://wc.rootsweb.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op=PED&db=sandyebauer&id=I36975> (accessed April 15, 2014).
- Baylor University School of Social Work. "The Silent Majority: Adult Victims of Sexual Exploitation by Clergy." [www.adultsabusedbyclergy.org/problemwithoutborders.html#navigationbox](http://www.adultsabusedbyclergy.org/problemwithoutborders.html#navigationbox) (accessed August 16, 2016).
- BBC News. "Paraguay President Fernando Lugo Impeached by Congress." June 23, 2012. Accessed February 26, 2016 [www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-185553813](http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-185553813).
- Bennett, James C. "Children Fathered by Fathers to sue Church." *The Times of India*. April 19, 2010. Accessed August 17, 2016 <http://www.freerepublic.com/focus/f-news/2498009/posts>.
- Berry, William. *An Introduction to Heraldry, containing the Rudiments of the Science General, and other Necessary Particulars connected with the Subject*. London, England: T. Egerton, Whitehall and White and Cochrane, 1810.



- Binda, Lawrence. *The Big Bad Book of John: Rogues, Rascals and Rascallions Named John, Jonathan and Jack*. Lincoln, Nebraska: iUniverse, Inc., 2003.
- BishopAccountability.org, Inc., "Rev. Henry V. Willenborg, o.f.m."  
[http://www.bishopaccountability.org/assign/Willenborg\\_Henry\\_V\\_ofm.htm](http://www.bishopaccountability.org/assign/Willenborg_Henry_V_ofm.htm)  
 (accessed August 17, 2016).
- Blackburn, Robin. *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492-1800*. London, England: Verso, 1997.
- Block, Edmond and Harry Lawrence Noble, editors. *Digest of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands*. Rochester, New York: Lawyers Cooperative Publishing Company, 1937.
- Bowman, William David. *Priest and Parish in Vienna, 1780-1880*. Studies in Central European Histories. Boston, Massachusetts: Humanities Press, Inc., 1999.
- Broken Rites Australia. "This 'Celibate' Priest Fathered Two Children, his Colleagues say." <http://www.brokenrites.org.au/drupal/node/224> (accessed August 17, 2016).
- Brown, Michael E. and Sumit Ganguly. *Government and Ethnic Relations in Asia and the Pacific*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1997.
- Butt, Simon. "Asia-Pacific 'Illegitimate' Children and Inheritance in Indonesia." *Alternative Law Journal*. Vol.37, no.3. 196-198. (2012).  
[http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=2142286](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2142286) (accessed August 16, 2016).
- Cabusao, Romeo C. *San Fernando, Pampanga: Ing Balen Kung Tibuan: Our Heritage, Our Legacy*. Angeles City, Philippines: Pima Press, 2000.
- Camiling, Alejandro, editor. "Biographies of Famous Kapampangan."  
<http://www.andropampanga.com/bio/escaler.htm> (accessed April 17, 2014).
- Cannell, Fenella. *Power and Intimacy in the Christian Philippines*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Canturias, Abbey. "Married Clerics want Priestly Functions back." *Manila Times*. May 29, 1993. In *People Priests and Pedophiles*, edited by Earl K. Wilkinson. Makati, Philippines: International Research Foundation, 1994.
- Carpenter, Frank G. "Montezuma and Cortez: Their Descendants have Great Estates in Spain and Mexico." *Moderator-Topics* vol. 34. no. 1. (September 04, 1913): 132.
- Casper, Gretchen. "From Confrontation to Conciliation: The Philippine Path toward Democratic Consolidation." In *Pathways to Democracy: The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions*, edited by James F. Hollifield and Calvin Jillson. New York: Routledge, 2000.

- Castro, Alex R. "Most Rev. Pedro P. Santos, D.D.: The Archbishop of Porac." <http://viewsfromthepampang.blogspot.com/2007/05/29-most-rev-pedro-p-santos-dd.html> (accessed August 16, 2016).
- Cavendish, Richard. "Charles V's Spanish Abdication." *HistoryToday*, vol. 56, issue 1. (January 01, 2006). <http://www.historytoday.com/richard-cavendish/charles-v%E2%80%99s-spanish-abdication> (accessed July 17, 2016).
- Cayabyab, Charlene A. "Nepomucenos declare support for Pamintuan." *Headline Gitnang Luzon*. March 02, 2015. Accessed <http://www.headlinegl.com/nepomucenos-declare-support-for-pamintuan/> (accessed March 29, 2015).
- Celoza, Albert F. *Ferdinand Marcos and the Philippines: The Political Economy of Authoritarianism*. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1997.
- Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate. "World Data over Time." <http://cara.georgetown.edu/frequently-requested-church-statistics/> (accessed August 02, 2015).
- Cervantes, Ding. "Priest, girlie bar owner form tandem for 2010 polls." *The Philippine Star*, November 14, 2009. Accessed <http://www.philstar.com/headlines/522872/priest-girlie-bar-owner-form-tandem-2010-polls> (accessed August 17, 2016).
- Cheney, David M. "Archbishop Paciano Basilio Aniceto: Archbishop Emeritus of San Fernando." <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/baniceto.html> (accessed July 17, 2016).
- Cherry, Stephen M. *Faith, Family, and Filipino American Community Life*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2014.
- Chicago Tribune, The*. "Father Vattman Dies; Veteran Army Chaplain: Indians' 'Large Pine Tree' was Friend of Presidents." September 30, 1919. Accessed August 11, 2016 <http://archives.chicagotribune.com/1919/09/30/page/21/article/father-vattman-dies-veteran-army-chaplain>.
- Cholij, Roman. "Priestly Celibacy in Patristics and in the History of the Church." In *For Love Alone: Reflections on Priestly Celibacy*, edited by Ignace de la Potterie. St. Paul, Minnesota: Hyperion Books, 1993. [http://www.vatican.va/roman\\_curia/congregations/ccclergy/documents/rc\\_con\\_ccclergy\\_doc\\_01011993\\_chisto\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/ccclergy/documents/rc_con_ccclergy_doc_01011993_chisto_en.html) (accessed August 17, 2016).
- Clark, Elaine. "Mothers at Risk of Poverty in the Medieval English Countryside." In *Poor Women and Children in the European Past*, edited by John Henderson and Richard Wall London, England: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 1994.
- Clarke, Gerard. *Civil Society in the Philippines: Theoretical, Methodological and Policy Debates*. New York: Routledge, 2013.

- Coleman, Ambrose. *The Friars in the Philippines*. Boston: Marlier, Callanan & Company, 1899.
- Connolly, Michael J. *Church Lands and Peasant Unrest in the Philippines: Agrarian Conflict in 20th-Century Luzon*. Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1992.
- Coronel, Sheila S. editor. *Investigating Estrada: Millions, Mansions, and Mistresses*. Manila, Philippines: Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism, 2000.
- Corpus Canada. "A Brief History of Celibacy in the Catholic Church."  
<http://futurechurch.org/brief-history-of-celibacy-in-catholic-church> (accessed August 17, 2016).
- Crocker, Temple Henry. Thomas Williams, and Samuel Clark. *The Complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences in which the Whole Circle of Human Learning is Explained*. Vol. 2. London, England: J. Wilson & J Fell, 1765.
- Crowe, Felicity, Emily Hill, and Ben Hollingum, editors. *Sex and Society*. Vol. 2. Tarrytown, New York: Marshall Cavendish Corporation, 2010.
- Cruz, Francis. *The Absolution: Reflections on Faith, the Priesthood, and All Those Uncomfortable Spaces in Between*. Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2013.
- Cullinane, Michael. *Ilustrado Politics: Filipino Elite Responses to American Rule, 1898-1908*. Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2003.
- Cullinane, Michael. "Ilustrado Politics: The Response of the Filipino Educated Elite to American Colonial Rule, 1898-1907." PhD Diss. University of Michigan, 1980.
- Dacanay, Barbara Mae. "Governor-elect priest admits romantic liaison." *Gulfnews*. May 23, 2007. Accessed <http://m.gulfnews.com/news/asia/philippines/governor-elect-priest-admits-romantic-liaison-1.179504> (accessed August 17, 2016).
- de Borja, Marciano R. *Basques in the Philippines*. Reno, Nevada: University of Nevada Press, 2005.
- de la Torre, Visitacion R. *The Filipino Child: Images & Insights*. Makiti, Philippines: Tower Book House, 1992.
- de Montalvo, Soledad. *Women, Food, and Sex in History*. Vol. 2. Austin, Texas: American Atheist Press, 1988.
- De Sequera Family. "De Sequera Family Genealogy Project."  
[http://www.desequera.org/FamilyCards/PS02/PS02\\_179.HTML](http://www.desequera.org/FamilyCards/PS02/PS02_179.HTML) (accessed November 16, 2014).
- Dillon, Nancy. "Father father – Priest has Child with Parishioner – Sees the Eyes of God looking back at him in the Child's Eyes." *New York Daily News*. September 30,

2013. Accessed <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/national/priest-fathers-child-parishioner-article-1.1472085> (accessed August 17, 2016).
- Dioso, Marconi M. *The Times when Men must Die: The Story of the Destruction of the Philippine Army during the Early Months of World War II in the Pacific, December 1941-May 1942*. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: Dorrance Publishing, 2010.
- Dogwe, Brynelle. "Winners: Angeles City, Pampanga Local Elections 2016 Results." Accessed August 24, 2016. <http://www.ivoteph.com/election-results/pam/winners-angeles-city-pampanga-local-elections-2016-results/>
- Dowling, John. *The History of Romanism: From the Earliest Corruptions of Christianity to the Present Time*. New York: Edward Walker, 1845.
- Draper, John William. *A History of the Intellectual Development of Europe*. New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1863.
- Embassy of the Republic of the Philippines. "Former Philippine Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Japan." <http://tokyo.philembassy.net/the-embassy/the-ambassador/former-ambassadors/> (accessed April 15, 2014).
- Embry, Maria Elizabeth Del Valle. "Embry & Allied Families of Paniqui." [http://paniqui\\_embry.tripod.com/alliedfam/aqwg14.htm](http://paniqui_embry.tripod.com/alliedfam/aqwg14.htm) (accessed April 17, 2014).
- Encyclopedia Britannica*.s.v. "Hukbalahap Rebellion: Filipino History." <http://www.britannica.com/event/Hukbalahap-Rebellion/> (accessed August 16, 2016).
- Espiritu, James Alcasabas. "Nepomuceno Family Tree." <https://www.geni.com/family-tree/index/6000000015605467767> (accessed July 04, 2016).
- Eulogos. "The Obligations and Rights of Clerics." In *Code of Canon Law*. [www.intratext.com/IXT/ENG0017/\\_PX.HTM](http://www.intratext.com/IXT/ENG0017/_PX.HTM) (accessed August 16, 2016).
- Evangelista, Christian. Letter to "Most Rev. Bishop Paciano B. Aniceto, Archbishop of Pampanga." September 18, 1993. In *People Priests and Pedophiles*, edited by Earl K. Wilkinson. Makati, Philippines: International Research Foundation, 1994.
- Everett, Marshall. *History of the Philippines and the Life and Achievements of Admiral George Dewey*. Chicago: J.S. Ziegler & Company, 1899.
- Familysearch.org. "California, Death Index, 1940-1997." <https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/VPWP-FT4> (accessed April 12, 2014).
- Familysearch.org. "Illinois, County Marriages, 1810-1934." <https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/X2PY-2RS> (accessed April 12, 2014).
- Familysearch.org. "Illinois Deaths and Stillbirths, 1916-1947." <https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/NQ7N-4BW> (accessed April 12, 2014).

- Familysearch.org. "International Genealogical Index."  
<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/2:2:34NC-5G2> (accessed July 30, 2015).
- Familysearch.org. "Philippines Deaths and Burials, 1726-1957."  
<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/FJ76-G4C> (accessed November 01, 2013).
- Familysearch.org. "Philippines, Manila, Civil Registration, 1899-1984."  
<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK1C-N9GZ> (accessed November 24, 2016).
- Familysearch.org. "Philippines, Marriages, 1723-1957."  
<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/FN7G-LQ2> (accessed November 01, 2013).
- Familysearch.org. "Spain Baptisms, 1502-1940."  
<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/FF7M-191> (accessed April 12, 2014).
- Familysearch.org. "Spain, Marriages, 1565-1950."  
<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/FFPG-BSM> (accessed April 12, 2014).
- Familysearch.org. "Texas, Deaths, 1890-1976." 2014.  
<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/K3ZY-VBQ> (accessed April 15, 2014).
- Familysearch.org. "United States World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918."  
<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/K6XP-X2P> (accessed April 15, 2014).
- Fernandez, Connie. "Allow Married Priests to do Priestly work." *Philippine Daily Inquirer*. May 19, 1993. In *People Priests and Pedophiles*, edited by Earl K. Wilkinson. Makati, Philippines: International Research Foundation, 1994.
- Fernandez, Leandro Heriberto. *A Brief History of the Philippines*. Boston, Massachusetts: Ginn and Company, 1919.
- Fichter, Stephen Joseph. "When Priests Leave the Church: How common is Alberto Cuti's Journey to Protestant Ministry?" *America: The National Catholic Review*. October 05, 2009. <http://americamagazine.org/issue/709/100/when-priests-leave-church> (accessed August 17, 2016).
- Files, Vera. "Nepomuceno Political Dynasty of Angeles City, Pampanga."  
<http://crowdsourcing.verafiles.org/reports/view/152> (accessed March 29, 2015).
- Fisk, Robert. "'Honor' Killing: The Crimewave that Shames the World." *CommonDreams*. September 07, 2010.  
[www.commondreams.org/2010/09/07/honor-killing-crimewave-shames-world](http://www.commondreams.org/2010/09/07/honor-killing-crimewave-shames-world) (accessed August 17, 2016).
- Foreman, John. *The Philippine Islands: A Political, Geographical, Ethnographical, Social and Commercial History of the Philippine Archipelago embracing the Whole Period of Spanish Rule with an Account of the Succeeding American Insular Government*. Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., 1906.

- Fox-Davies, Arthur Charles. *A Complete Guide to Heraldry*. New York: Skyhouse Publishing, Inc., 2007.
- Franco. "Apalit Gonzales." <http://apalitdoblezetastories.wordpress.com/2011/11/06/friar-fausto-lopez-where-it-all-began/> (accessed April 17, 2014).
- Friar, Stephen and John Ferguson. *Basic Heraldry*. London, England: The Herbert Press Limited, 1993.
- Fung, Cornelia Lichauco. *Beneath the Banyan Tree: My Family Chronicles*. Hong Kong: The Green Pagoda Press, Ltd., 2009.
- Gage, Matilda Joslyn. *Woman, Church and State: A Historical Account of the Status of Woman Through the Christian Ages, with Reminiscences of Matriarchate*. Chicago, Illinois: C.H. Kerr, 1893.
- Garcia, Andres Perez. *El Libro de Cuenca de Campos: Apuntes Geografico-Historicos Acera de Dicha Villa (Valladolid)*. Villalon, Spain: Encuadernacion de Juan Guerra, 1886.
- Garcia, Myles. *Thirty Years Later: Catching up with Marcos-Era Crimes*. San Francisco, California: MAG Publishing, 2016.
- Geddes, Michael. *The History of the Church of Malabar: From the Time of its Being First Discover'd by the Poruguezes in the Year 1501 Giving an Account of the Persecutions and Violent Methods of the Roman Prelates, to Reduce them to the Subjection of the Church of Rome*. London, England: Sam. Smith and Benj. Walford, 1694.
- Gies, Frances and Joseph. *Daily Life in Medieval Times: A Vivid, Detailed Account of Birth, Marriage and Death; Food, Clothing and Housing; Love and Labor in the Middle Ages*. New York: HarperCollins, 1990.
- Gleek, Lewis E. Jr. *The American Governors-General and High Commissioners in the Philippines: Proconsuls, Nation-builders and Politicians*. Quezon City, Philippines: New Day Publishers, 1986.
- Gleek, Lewis E. Jr. "The 'Immorality' of the Friars." In *People Priests and Pedophiles*, edited by Earl K. Wilkinson. Makati, Philippines: International Research Foundation, 1994.
- Go, Julian. *American Empire and the Politics of Meaning: Elite Political Cultures in the Philippines and Puerto Rico during U.S. Colonialism*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2008.
- Go, Miriam Grace A. "The Wealth of the Old Man Revilla." *Rappler Newsbreak*. April 01, 2014. Accessed April 15, 2014 <http://www.rappler.com/newsbreak/42959-wealth-old-man-revilla>.

- Gonzalez, Barbara C. "A Friar in the Family." *The Philippine Star*. November 12, 2011. Accessed August 17, 2016 <http://www.philstar.com/modern-living/746743/friar-family>.
- Gonzalez, Joaquin Jay III. *Filipino American Faith in Action: Immigration, Religion, and Civic Engagement*. New York: New York University Press, 2009.
- Gonzalez, Toto. "Remembrance of Things Gone Awry." <http://remembranceofthingsawry.wordpress.com/> (accessed April 19, 2014).
- Grain, William, editor and translator. *The Ley Hipotecaria of Spain, or Law on the Inscription of Titles to Immovable Property*. London, England: H. Sweet Law Bookseller and Publisher, 1867.
- Green, Vivian H.H. *A New History of Christianity*. New York: Continuum Publishing Company, 2000.
- Gross, Richard E. "Foreword." In *A History of Compulsory Education Laws*, by Michael S. Katz. Bloomington, Indiana: The Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation, 1976. <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED119389.pdf> (accessed August 17, 2016).
- Grossholtz, Jean. *Land Reform and Rural Development in the Philippines: Political Imperatives and Political Impediments*. New York: Asia Society, 1967.
- Guillermo, Artemio R. *Historical Dictionary of the Philippines*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc., 2012.
- Haliczer, Stephen. *Sexuality in the Confessional: A Sacrament Profaned*. New York: Oxford University Press USA, 1996.
- Hallowell, Billy. "'I am the Baby's Father': Priest who Impregnated Mystery Congregant has a Message about Celibacy." *The Blaze*. October 01, 2013. Accessed August 11, 2016 <http://www.theblaze.com/stories/2013/10/01/i-am-the-babys-father-priest-who-impregnated-mystery-congregant-has-a-message-about-celibacy/>.
- Hammerle, Christa. "Unmarried Fathers in the Austrian Legal Code and Popular Autobiography in the Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century." In *Family History Revisited: Comparative Perspectives*, edited by Richard Wall, Tamara K. Hareven, Josef Ehmer, and Markus Cerman. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2001.
- Haub, Carl. "Births Outside Marriage Now Common in Many Countries in Europe." Population Reference Bureau, [www.prb.org/Publications/Articles/2010/birthsoutidemarriage.aspx](http://www.prb.org/Publications/Articles/2010/birthsoutidemarriage.aspx) (accessed February 24, 2016).
- Hausser, Ludwig. *The Period of Reformation 1517 to 1648*, edited by Wilhelm Oncken, translated by G. Sturge. New York: American Tract Society, 1873.

- Headline Gitnang Luzon*. "Nepo Mall Angeles celebrates 11 years." March 06, 2014. Accessed August 17, 2016. <http://www.headlinegl.com/nepo-mall-angeles-celebrates-11-years/>.
- Henares, Ivan Anthony S. "Filipino Alcalde-Mayores in the Province of Pampanga." In *Alaya: The Kapampangan Research Journal*, edited by Lino L. Dizon. Angeles City, Philippines: The Juan D. Nepomuceno Center for Kapampangan Studies at Holy Angel University, 2005.
- Henares, Ivan Anthony S. "The Leon y Santos Clan of Bacolor and Porac." <http://www.geocities.ws/ivanhenares/leonsantos.htm> (accessed March 29, 2016).
- Henson, Mariano A. *A Brief History of the Town of Angeles in the Province of Pampanga, Philippines: From its Foundation in 1796 A.D. to the Present 1947-1948*. San Fernando, Philippines: Ing Katiwala Press, 1948.
- Henson, Maria Rosa. *Comfort Woman: A Filipina's Story of Prostitution and Slavery under the Japanese Military*. Lanham: Roman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999.
- Herman, Ellen. "Illegitimacy." University of Oregon Department of History. [pages.uoregon.edu/adoption/topics/illegitimacy.htm](http://pages.uoregon.edu/adoption/topics/illegitimacy.htm) (accessed August 17, 2016).
- Hodgman, Charlotte. "The Rise and Fall of the Workhouse." *BBC News*. December 20, 2010. Accessed August 16, 2016 <http://www.historyextra.com/workhouse>.
- Holy Angel University. "History." [http://www.hau.edu.ph/about\\_hau/history.php](http://www.hau.edu.ph/about_hau/history.php) (accessed November 01, 2014).
- Illinois. Brown County 1880 U.S. Census, population schedule. Digital transcriptions. Familysearch.org. 2014. <http://familysearch.org>.
- Illinois. Brown County. 1910 U.S. Census, population schedule. Digital transcriptions. Familysearch.org. 2014. <http://familysearch.org>.
- Illinois. Jefferson County. 1850 U.S. Census, population schedule. Digital transcriptions, Familysearch.org. 2014. <http://familysearch.org>.
- Illinois. Jefferson County. 1860 U.S. Census, population schedule. Digital transcriptions, Familysearch.org. 2014. <http://familysearch.org>.
- Illinois. Pike County. 1880 U.S. Census, population schedule. Digital transcriptions. Familysearch.org. 2014. <http://familysearch.org>.
- Irish Times, The*. "Dr. Eamon Casey." December 08, 1997. Accessed July 17, 2016 <http://www.irishtimes.com/culture/dr-eamon-casey-1.135045>.
- Jekel, James F., David L. Katz, and Joann G. Elmore. *Epidemiology, Biostatistics, and Preventative Medicine*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Saunders Elsevier, 2007.



- Jewel, John. "The Defense of the Apology of the Church of England." In *The Works of John, Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury*, edited by John Ayre. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1850.
- Jiji, Kyodo. "Equal inheritance rights now law but illegitimate birth registries stand." *The Japan Times*. December 05, 2013. Accessed August 16, 2016  
[http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2013/12/05/national/japan-enacts-bill-to-end-discrimination-of-out-of-wedlock-children/#.VQ5\\_JfzF-So](http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2013/12/05/national/japan-enacts-bill-to-end-discrimination-of-out-of-wedlock-children/#.VQ5_JfzF-So).
- Joaquin, Nick. *The Aquinos of Tarlac: An Essay on History as Three Generations*. Mandaluyong, Philippines: Cacho Hermanos, Inc., 1983.
- Johnson, Robert E., editor. "Should Priests be Allowed to Marry? *JET*. August 27, 1990. Vol. 78. No. 20.
- Jones, Jeffrey M. "Approval of Out-of-Wedlock Births Growing in U.S." Gallup Polls. [www.gallup.com/poll/183428/approval-wedlock-births-growing.aspx](http://www.gallup.com/poll/183428/approval-wedlock-births-growing.aspx) (accessed August 17, 2016).
- Jose Rizal University. "Rizal, the Romantic." <http://www.joserizal.ph/lv01.html> (accessed November 25, 2015).
- Kamen, Henry. *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2014.
- Kang, David C. *Crony Capitalism: Corruption and Development in South Korea and the Philippines*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Karnow, Stanley. *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1989.
- Klein, Martin A. *Historical Dictionary of Slavery and Abolition*. Lanham, Maryland: The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc., 2014.
- Kramer, Paul A. *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States and the Philippines*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.
- Kreuzer, Peter. "Mafia-style Domination: The Philippine Province of Pampanga." *Peace Research Institute Frankfurt*, PRIF-Report No. 114. (2012), [mercury.ethz.ch/serviceengine/Files/ISN/154686/.../prif114.pdf](http://mercury.ethz.ch/serviceengine/Files/ISN/154686/.../prif114.pdf) (accessed April 16, 2014).
- Kreuzer, Peter. "The Philippines Mafia Style Domination in an Oligarchic Polity," *IPSA's XXIIInd World Congress of Political Science, Reshaping Power, Shifting Boundaries*, (2012), [http://paperroom.ipsa.org/papers/paper\\_11398.pdf](http://paperroom.ipsa.org/papers/paper_11398.pdf) (accessed August 16, 2016).
- Kunzel, Regina G. *Fallen Women, Problem Girls: Unmarried Mothers and the Professionalization of Social Work 1890-1945*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1993.

- Lake, Alison. *Colonial Rosary: The Spanish and Indian Missions of California*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2006.
- Larkin, John A. *The Pampangans: Colonial Society in a Philippine Province*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1972.
- Laslett, Peter. "The Bastardy Prone Sub-Society." In *Bastardy and its Comparative History: Studies in the History of Illegitimacy and Marital Nonconformism in Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, North America, Jamaica and Japan*, edited by Peter Laslett, Karla Oosterveen, and Richard M. Smith. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1980.
- Lea, Henry C. *An Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church*. Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1884.
- Legitimus. "Illegitimacy of the Sinclairs of Ulbster." In *The Gentleman's Magazine*. Vol 21, edited by Sylvanus Urban. London, England: William Pickering, John Bowyer Nicholas and Son, 1844.
- LeRoy, James A. "The Friars in the Philippines." *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 18. (December 1903). [https://archive.org/stream/jstor-2140780\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/jstor-2140780_djvu.txt) (accessed August 17, 2016).
- Liao, Shubert S.C. *Chinese Participation in Philippine Culture and Economy*. Manila, Philippines, University of the East, 1964.
- Liber, Francis, Edward Wigglesworth, and Thomas Gamaliel Bradford, editors. *Encyclopedia Americana: A Popular Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, Literature, History, Politics, and Biography*. Vol. 1. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Thomas, Cowperthwait, & Co., 1840.
- Liow, Joseph Chinyong. *Dictionary of the Modern Politics of Southeast Asia*. New York: Routledge, 2015.
- Lodares, Juan R. "Languages, Catholicism, and Power in the Hispanic Empire (1500-1700)." In *Spanish Empire*, edited by Nelsy Echavez-Solano and Kenya C. Dworkin y Mendez. Nashville, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press, 2007.
- Longacre, Charles S. "Religious Liberty, Free Speech, a Free Press, and No Public Money for Sectarian Institutions in the Philippines." *Liberty: A Magazine of Religious Freedom*, vol. 9, no. 6 (1916).
- Lorandi, Ana Maria. *Spanish King of the Incas: The Epic Life of Pedro Bohorques*, translated by Ann de Leon. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005.
- Lundberg, Emma O. and Katharine F. Lenroot. "Illegitimacy as a Child Welfare Problem: A Brief Treatment of the Prevalence and Significance of Birth out of Wedlock, the Child's Status and the State's Responsibility for Care and Protection." In *United States Children's Bureau Publications; Dependent, Defective, and Delinquent*

- Classes Series*. No. 8-12. Washington, DC: United States Children's Bureau, 1920.
- Lyndsay, Sir David. *The Historie of ane Nobil and Wailbeand Sqvyer, William Meldrum, Vmqvhye Laird of Cleische and Bynnis*. Edinburgh, Scotland: Be Henrie Charteris, 1594.
- MacDonald, Iain G. *Clerics and Clansmen: The Diocese of Argyll between the Twelfth and Sixteenth Centuries*. Leiden, Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2013.
- Magno-Veluz, Mona. "Aguinaldo Family Tree." <http://www.geni.com/people/Emilio-Famy-Aguinaldo/6000000010571050479> (accessed November 02, 2013).
- Mailliard, Ralph J. "An Investigation of the Philippine Friar Land Case and Related Church Problems." PhD diss., Loyola University, 1942.
- Maloney, Aisling. "Heroic Effort: The History of Catholic Schools in America." *Humanum: The Quarterly Review for Cultural and Pastoral Research*, Issue 2 (2015). <http://www.humanumreview.com/articles/heroic-effort-the-history-of-catholic-schools-in-america> (accessed August 17, 2016).
- Martin, Douglas. "Eugene Marino, Black Archbishop, Dies at 66." *The New York Times*. November 16, 2000. Accessed August 11, 2016. <http://www.nytimes.com/2000/11/16/us/eugene-marino-black-archbishop-dies-at-66.html>.
- Mayo, Oni. "Ambassador Carlos Valdez, 88." <http://63menagerie.blogspot.com/2008/11/ambassador-carlos-valdez-88.html> (accessed April 15, 2014).
- McCallus, Joseph P. *The MacArthur Highway and other Relics of American Empire in the Philippines*. Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 2010.
- McCoy, Alfred W. *An Anarchy of Families: State and Family in the Philippines*. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin, Center for Southeast Asian Studies. 1993.
- McFerson, Hazel M., editor. *Mixed Blessing: The Impact of the American Colonial Experience on Politics and Society in the Philippines*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2002.
- McKenna, Joseph, William B. Gilbert, and Thomas P. Hawley. "Hatch et al. v. Ferguson et al. (Circuit Court of Appeals, Ninth Circuit. May 6, 1895). No. 167," In *The Federal Reporter: Cases Argued and Determined in the Circuit Courts of Appeals and Circuit and District Courts of the United States*, vol. 68, edited by Robert Desty, James Wells Goodwin, and Peyton Boyle. St. Paul, Minnesota: West Publishing Co., 1895.
- McNamara, Pat. "John D. Crimmins (1844-1917)." <http://www.patheos.com/blogs/mcnamarasblog/2009/11/john-d-crimmins-1844-1917.html> (accessed August 11, 2016).

- Meech, Earl. "Emilio F. Aguinaldo." <http://boards.ancestrylibrary.com/thread.aspx?mv=flat&m=2&p=surnames.aguinaldo> (accessed November 02, 2013).
- Mendoza, Erlita P. *A Cofradia of Two: Oral History on the Family Life and Lay Religiosity of Juan D. Nepomuceno and Teresa G. Nepomuceno of Angeles, Pampanga*. Angeles City, Philippines: The Juan D. Nepomuceno Center for Kapampangan Studies at Holy Angel University, 2004.
- Merrill, William L. "Conversion and Colonialism in Northern Mexico: The Tarahumara Response to the Jesuit Mission Program, 1601-1767." In *Conversion to Christianity: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives on a Great Transformation*, edited by Robert W. Hefner. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1993.
- Mills, Kenneth, William B. Taylor, and Sandra Lauderdale Graham, editors. *Colonial Latin America: A Documentary History*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2002.
- Milne, Brian. *The History and Theory of Children's Citizenship in Contemporary Societies*. New York: Springer, 2013.
- Misbach, Grant L. "6 Generation Pedigree Chart Template." [Misbach.org/free-pdf-charts.html](http://misbach.org/free-pdf-charts.html) (accessed April 17, 2016).
- Mittra, Sangh and Bachchan Kumar, editors. *Encyclopedia of Women in South Asia (Pakistan)*. Vol. 2. Delhi, India: Kalpaz Publications, 2004.
- Mydans, Seth. "Maria Rosa Henson, 69, Dies; Victim of Japanese Brothels." *The New York Times*, August 27, 1997. Accessed April 10, 2014. <http://www.nytimes.com/1997/08/27/world/maria-rosa-henson-69-dies-victim-of-japanese-brothels.html>.
- MyHeritage.com. "Nepomuceno Family Tree." <https://records-myheritagelibraryedition-com.access-proxy.sno-isle.org/research/collection-40001/familysearch-family-tree?itemId=1002025238&action=showRecord> (accessed August 24, 2016).
- MyHeritage.com. "Virata Family Tree." [myheritage.com](http://myheritage.com) (accessed September 04, 2016).
- Nadeau, Kathleen M. *The History of the Philippines*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2008.
- Nepomuceno, Carmelo. *The Gomez Family of Angeles Pampanga and the Mercado Relatives*. Manila: Philippines, C. Nepomuceno, 2002.
- Nepomuceno, Marc. "Naval," *Pampanga Eagle*. October 09, 1983. Accessed April 10, 2014. <http://marcnepo.blogspot.com/2012/10/naval.html>.

- Nepomuceno, Marc. "The Nepomucenos of Pampanga."  
<http://marcnepo.blogspot.com/2013/04/the-nepomucenos-of-pampanga.html>  
 (accessed April 12, 2014).
- Nepomuceno, Marco D. *The Nepomucenos of Angeles City and their Relatives: The Ascendants and Descendants of Pio Rafael Nepomuceno and Maria Agustina Henson*. Angeles City, Philippines: MEPA Press, 1987.
- Ninski. "Masnou." <http://boards.ancestry.com/surnames.masnou/1/mb.ashx> (accessed November 16, 2014).
- O'Brien, DeWitt, and Attorney-General Villamor. "G.R. No. L-7037: The United States, plaintiff-appellee, vs. Jose Laurel, et al., defendants-appellants." Manila, Philippines: Republic of the Philippines Supreme Court, March 15, 1912.  
[http://www.lawphil.net/judjuris/juri1912/mar1912/gr\\_l-7037\\_1912.html](http://www.lawphil.net/judjuris/juri1912/mar1912/gr_l-7037_1912.html) (accessed August 17, 2016).
- Ohio. Fairfield County. 1870 U.S. Census, population schedule. Digital transcriptions. Familysearch.org. 2014. <http://familysearch.org>.
- Oklahoma. Pawnee County. 1930 U.S. Census, population schedule. Digital transcriptions. Familysearch.org. 2014. <http://familysearch.org>.
- Oklahoma. Pawnee County. 1940 U.S. Census, population schedule. Digital transcriptions. Familysearch.org. 2014. <http://familysearch.org>.
- Oklahoma. Payne County. 1900 U.S. Census, population schedule. Digital transcriptions. Familysearch.org. 2014. <http://familysearch.org>.
- Oklahoma. Payne County. 1920 U.S. Census, population schedule. Digital transcriptions. Familysearch.org. 2014. <http://familysearch.org>.
- Oklahoma. Tulsa County. 1910 U.S. Census, population schedule. Digital transcriptions. Familysearch.org. 2014. <http://familysearch.org>.
- Oklahoma. Woods County. 1900 U.S. Census, population schedule. Digital transcriptions. Familysearch.org. 2014. <http://familysearch.org>.
- O'Loughlin, Thomas. "History of Celibacy in the Catholic Church." ACP: Association of Catholic Priests, 2012.  
<http://www.associationofcatholicpriests.ie/2012/05/celibacy-in-the-catholic-church-a-brief-history/> (accessed July 10, 2016).
- O'Malley, John W. *Trent: What Happened at the Council*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013.
- Owen, Norman G., editor. *The Emergence of Modern Southeast Asia: A New History*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005.

- Panlilio, Alejandro Jose. "Alejandro Jose Panlilio's World War I Registration Card." June 05, 1917 <https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.3.1/TH-1961-26427-8336-48?cc=1968530> (accessed April 15, 2014).
- Panlilio, Erlinda Enriquez. *Belonging: Stories of Relationships*. Pasig City, Philippines: Anvil Publishing, 2008.
- Panlilio, Erlinda Enriquez. *Teacher to Tycoon: The Life and Times of Trinidad Diaz Enriquez*. Manila, Philippines: Anvil Publishing Inc., 2000.
- Pedrosa, Carmen Navarro. *Imelda Marcos: The Rise and Fall of One of the World's Most Powerful Women*. Quezon City, Philippines: Flipside Publishing, 2013.
- Pengo, Polyarp. "Priestly Celibacy and Problems of Inculturation." [http://www.vatican.va/roman\\_curia/congregations/cclergy/documents/rc\\_con\\_cclergy\\_doc\\_01011993\\_prob\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cclergy/documents/rc_con_cclergy_doc_01011993_prob_en.html) (accessed August 17, 2016).
- Peterkin, Tom. "500 Irish Priests 'having regular sex with women.'" *The Telegraph*. January 21, 2006. Accessed August 17, 2016 [www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/ireland/1508431/500-Irish-priests-having-regular-sex-with-women.html](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/ireland/1508431/500-Irish-priests-having-regular-sex-with-women.html).
- Philippine Catholic Family Priests. "Philippine Catholic Family Priests." *RC Newsletter*. October 1992. In *People Priests and Pedophiles*, edited by Earl K. Wilkinson. Makati, Philippines: International Research Foundation, 1994.
- Philippine Daily Inquirer*. "Church Rejects Married Priests." June 01, 1993. In *People Priests and Pedophiles*, edited by Earl K. Wilkinson. Makati, Philippines: International Research Foundation, 1994.
- Philippine Daily Inquirer*. "Eduardo Romualdez, ex-envoy to US, dies." *Philippine Daily Inquirer*. July 21, 2001. Accessed July 23, 2014. <http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=2479&dat=20010721&id=hqU2AAAAIBAJ&sjid=hSUMAAAAIBAJ&pg=674,1943732>.
- Philippine Genealogical Society. "Bios of Notable Thomasites." <https://angkangpilipino.wordpress.com/2011/06/21/bios-of-notable-thomasites/> (accessed August 11, 2016).
- Phipps, William E. *Clerical Celibacy: The Heritage*. New York: Continuum, 2004.
- Pringle, J.W. and Burke. "Munster: City of Cork." In *Third Report of the Commissioners for Inquiring into the Condition of the Poorer Classes in Ireland*, edited by Rd Dublin. London: W. Clowes and Sons, 1836.
- Proenza-Coles, Christina. *Encyclopedia of African American History*. Vol. 1, edited by Leslie M. Alexander and Walter C. Rucker. "La Siete Partidas." Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2010.

- Purino, Anacoreta P. *Rizal, the Greatest Filipino Hero*. Manila, Philippines: Rex Book Store, Inc., 2008.
- Putzel, James. *A Captive Land: The Politics of Agrarian Reform in the Philippines*. London, England: Catholic Institute for International Relations, 1992.
- Radmacher, Earl D. *Salvation*. Nashville, Tennessee: Thomas Nelson, 2000.
- Rappler Newsbreak*. "Rappler Senior Investigative Reporter Aries Rufo Dies." September 20, 2015. Accessed August 11, 2016  
<http://www.rappler.com/nation/106448-rappler-investigative-reporter-aries-rufo-dies>.
- Reid, Anthony. *A History of Southeast Asia: Critical Crossroads*. Chichester, England: John Wiley & Sons, 2015.
- Reilly, Benjamin. *Disaster and Human History: Case Studies in Nature, Society, and Catastrophe*. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Co., 2009.
- Republic of the Philippines Supreme Court Reports. In the matter of the intestate Aurea Enriquez and Francisca Reyes, deceased. Vicente Atanasio Enriquez and Pedro Garcia vs. Rafael Aquino and Josefa Aquino. G.R. No. L-9351. (1915).  
[http://www.lawphil.net/judjuris/juri1915/jan1915/gr\\_l-9351\\_1915.html](http://www.lawphil.net/judjuris/juri1915/jan1915/gr_l-9351_1915.html) (accessed August 17, 2016).
- Republic of the Philippines Supreme Court Reports. Jose A. Vallarta v. Esperanza Aliwalas, et al, G.R. No. L-32051. (1930).  
[http://www.lawphil.net/judjuris/juri1930/feb1930/gr\\_l-32051\\_1930.html](http://www.lawphil.net/judjuris/juri1930/feb1930/gr_l-32051_1930.html) (accessed August 17, 2016).
- Reyes, Iohan. "Abad Santos Family Tree." <http://www.geni.com/people/Jose-Santos/2899690> (accessed April 15, 2014).
- Reyes, Jose S. *Legislative History of America's Economic Policy toward the Philippines*. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1923.
- Reyes, Raquel A.G. *Love, Passion and Patriotism: Sexuality and the Philippine Propaganda Movement, 1882-1892*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008.
- Robins, Nicholas A. *Priest-Indian Conflict in Upper Peru: The Generation of Rebellion, 1750-1780*. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2007.
- Rodell, Paul A. *Culture and Customs of the Philippines*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2002.
- Roman Catholic Archdiocese of San Fernando, Pampanga. "Rev. Fr. Maghirang, Jeffrey Louie Laxamana." <http://www.rcasf.com/index.php/priest/on-leave/181-rev-fr-maghirang-jeffrey-louie-laxamana.html> (accessed August 11, 2016).

- Romero, Maria Corona S., Julita R. Santa Romana, and Lourdes Y. Santos. *Rizal and the Development of National Consciousness: A Textbook for the Course on Rizal's Life, Works, and Writings*. Quezon City, Philippines: Katha Publishing Company, Inc., 2006.
- Roxas, Mikee. "Philippine Billionaire Family Zobel de Ayala." <http://www.genealogy.com/forum/surnames/topics/ayala/362/> (accessed July 10, 2016).
- R.T.M.R.A.D. "The Life and Works of Gregoria de Jesus." [gregoriajesus.blogspot.com/2013/03/gregoria-de-jesus-1st-filipina-to-to.html](http://gregoriajesus.blogspot.com/2013/03/gregoria-de-jesus-1st-filipina-to-to.html) (accessed September 05, 2016).
- Rufo, Aries C. *Altar of Secrets: Sex, Politics, and Money in the Philippine Catholic Church*. Manila, Philippines: Journalism for Nation Building Foundation, 2013.
- Rufo, Aries. "Pampanga's Demons." *Rappler Newsbreak*. February 16, 2004. Accessed April 01, 2015. <http://archives.newsbreak-knowledge.ph/2004/02/16/pampangas-demons/>.
- Rufo, Aries. "Pampanga's Priests defy Celibacy." *Rappler Newsbreak*. February 14, 2012. Accessed August 17, 2016 <http://www.rappler.com/newsbreak/935-pampanga-s-priests-defy-celibacy>.
- S. "On Administering Baptism to Illegitimate Children." In *The Christian Observer*. Vol. 33, edited by Samuel Charles Wilks. London, England: J. Hatchard and Son, 1833.
- Salamat, Amir Nasser Dela Cruz. "Official Website of the Descendants of Jong-Su (Martin Tungol)." <http://jung-su.webs.com/19thcenturybloodline.htm> (accessed April 14, 2014).
- Sales, Todd Lucero. "Philippine Politics and Genealogy." *Manila Bulletin & Cebu Daily News*, June 2008. Accessed July 24, 2014. <http://www.asiafinest.com/forum/lofiversion/index.php/t326445.html>.
- Sales, Todd Lucero. "RP Politics: Still a Family Affair." [fil-gen-pro.blogspot.com/2012/02/rp-politics-still-family-affair.html](http://fil-gen-pro.blogspot.com/2012/02/rp-politics-still-family-affair.html) (accessed September 05, 2016).
- Sales, Todd Lucero. "The Roxas-Zobel-Soriano Family of Manila and Capiz." 2011. Author emailed article in GoogleDoc upon request (accessed July 24, 2014).
- Sales, Todd Lucero. "Town Officials of Argao (1608-1898)." <https://sites.google.com/site/argaogenealogy/spanisherapoliticalleaders> (accessed July 10, 2016).
- Salonen, Kirsi and Jussi Hanska, editors. *Entering a Clerical Career at the Roman Curia, 1458-1471*. Farnham, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2013.



- Salonen, Kirsi and Ludwig Schmugge. *A Sip from the "Well of Grace:" Medieval Texts from the Apostolic Penitentiary*. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2009.
- Sangil, Jay. "Priest in Rape case Missing." *Philippine Daily Inquirer*. October 29, 1993. In *People Priests and Pedophiles*, edited by Earl K. Wilkinson. Makati, Philippines: International Research Foundation, 1994.
- Sangil, Max. "The Nepomucenos and the Lazatins." *Sun Star Pampanga*. January 29, 2013. Accessed April 13, 2014.  
<http://www.sunstar.com.ph/pampanga/opinion/2013/01/29/sangil-nepomucenos-and-lazatins-part-1-265497>.
- SarDesai, D.R. *Southeast Asia: Past and Present*, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2013.
- Sarmiento de Gamboa, Pedro and Baltasar de Ocampo. *History of the Incas and the Execution of the Inca Tupac Amaru*, translated by Clements Markham. Cambridge, England: Hakluyt Society, 1907.
- Saunders, Katharine. "How I met your Father: Married Episcopalians becoming Catholic Priests." *U.S. Catholic*. August 2012, vol. 77, no. 8. Accessed August 17, 2016.  
[www.uscatholic.org/church/2012/06/how-i-met-your-father-married-episcopalians-becoming-catholic-priests](http://www.uscatholic.org/church/2012/06/how-i-met-your-father-married-episcopalians-becoming-catholic-priests).
- Saunders, William. "Celibacy in the Priesthood." *Arlington Catholic Herald*. 2004. Accessed August 17, 2016. <http://www.catholiceducation.org/en/religion-and-philosophy/apologetics/celibacy-in-the-priesthood.html>.
- Seagrave, Sterling. *The Marcos Dynasty*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1988.
- Seaman, Rebecca M., editor. *Conflict in the Early Americas: An Encyclopedia of the Spanish Empire's Aztec, Incan, and Mayan Conquests*. Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2013.
- Sevilla, Marlyna O. *The Living Past*. Bloomington, Indiana: Xlibris Corporation, 2008.
- Simbulan, Dante C. *The Modern Principalia: The Historical Evolution of the Philippine Ruling Oligarchy*. Quezon City, Philippines: The University of the Philippines Press, 2005.
- Sipe, A.W. Richard. *Sex, Priests, and Power: Anatomy of a Crisis*. New York: Brunner-Routledge, 1995.
- Smith, Charles. *An Inquiry into the Catholic Truths Hidden under Certain Articles of the Creed of the Church of Rome: Original Sin and Justification*. Vol. 2. London, England: John W. Parker, 1850.
- Sperry, Earl Evelyn. "History of Clerical Celibacy in Western Europe to the Council of Trent." PhD diss., Columbia University, 1903.

- Steinberg, David Joel. *The Philippines: A Singular and a Plural Place*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2000.
- Stockwell, Anthony. *'A Corrupt Tree:' An Encyclopedia of Crimes committed by the Church of Rome against Humanity and the Human Spirit*. Vol. 1. Bloomington, Indiana: Xlibris LLC, 2013.
- Sun Star Pampanga*. "Angeles elect Pamintuan as mayor for 5<sup>th</sup> time." May 11, 2016. Accessed August 24, 2016. <http://www.sunstar.com.ph/pampanga/local-news/2016/05/11/angelenos-elect-pamintuan-mayor-5th-time-472991>
- Talkback ANC. "Profile of Eddie "Among Ed" Tongol Panlilio." *ABS-CBN News*. June 06, 2009. Accessed August 11, 2016 <http://news.abs-cbn.com/botomo/05/13/09/profile-eddie-among-ed-tongol-panlilio>.
- Tangco, Marcelo. *The Christian Peoples of the Philippines*. Quezon City, Philippines: University of the Philippines Press, 1951.
- Tantingco, Robert P. and Lisa N. Mapua. *Destiny and Destination: The Extraordinary Story and History of Holy Angel University, 1933-2008*. Angeles City, Philippines: Juan D. Nepomuceno Center for Kapampangan Studies, Holy Angel University Press, 2008.
- Tayag, Renato D. *The Angeles Story*. Manila, Philippines: The Benipayo Press, 1956.
- Tayag, Renato D. *The Sinners of Angeles: For whom Don Juan Prays Daily*. Angeles City, Philippines: Renato D. Tayag, 1960.
- The Church of England Monthly Review*. "Workhouses and Women's Work." (1858).
- Thibodeaux, Jennifer D. *The Manly Priest: Clerical Celibacy, Masculinity, and Reform in England and Normandy, 1066-1300*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015.
- Timmons, Patricia and Robert Boenig, editors. *Gonzalo de Berceo and the Latin Miracles of the Virgin: A Translation and a Study*. New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Tipton, Frank B. *The Rise of Asia: Economics, Society, and Politics in Contemporary Asia*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998.
- Tordesillas, Ellen. "Marcos Australian Daughter Dropped from Reality Show." <http://www.ellentordesillas.com/2011/03/30/marcos-australian-daughter-dropped-from-reality-show/> (accessed April 10, 2014).
- Torres, Cristina Evangelista. *The Americanization of Manila, 1898-1921*. Quezon City, Philippines: The University of the Philippines Press, 2010.
- Tremlett, Paul-Francois. *Religion and Discourse on Modernity*. London, England: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2008.

- Tucker, Spencer. *The Encyclopedia of the Spanish –American and Philippine-American Wars: A Political, Social, and Military History*. Vol. 1. Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2009.
- Twinam, Ann. *Public Lives, Private Secrets: Gender, Honor, Sexuality, and Illegitimacy in Colonial Spanish America*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1999.
- Union of Catholic Asian News*. “Married Ex-priests Challenge ‘Outcast’ Status, Clerical Celibacy.” April 29, 1996. Accessed August 17, 2016.  
[http://www.ucanews.com/story-archive/?post\\_name=/1996/04/29/married-expriests-challenge-outcast-status-clerical-celibacy&post\\_id=7426](http://www.ucanews.com/story-archive/?post_name=/1996/04/29/married-expriests-challenge-outcast-status-clerical-celibacy&post_id=7426).
- United Kingdom Visas and Immigration. “Legitimacy.”  
[https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/268014/legitimacy.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/268014/legitimacy.pdf) (accessed August 17, 2016).
- United States Government. “Testimony Taken by the Philippine Commission Relating to Religious Orders.” In *Lands Held for Ecclesiastical or Religious Uses in the Philippine Islands, Etc.* 56th Congress. Second Session. Document No. 190. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1901.
- United States War Department. *Education in the Philippines*. 56<sup>th</sup> Congress. Second Session. Document No. 129. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1901.
- Utts, Thomas C. *GI Joe Doesn’t Live Here Anymore: A History of Clark Air Base, America’s Mighty Air Force Bastion in the Philippines*. Baltimore, Maryland: PublishAmerica LLLP, 2006.
- Ventura, Stephanie J. “Changing Patterns of Nonmarital Childbearing in the United States.” *NCHS Data Brief*. United States Department of Health and Human Services, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Center for Health Statistics. No.18. (May 2009). [www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/databriefs/db18.htm](http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/databriefs/db18.htm) (accessed August 17, 2016).
- Villacorte, Rolando E. *Baliwag!: Then and Now*. Caloocan City, Philippines: Philippine Graphic Arts, 1970.
- Villarroel, Hector K., Eulgio M. Leano, Renato G. Faustino, Antonio V. Mico, Jesus C. Guzon, Carmencita H. Acosta, Sabatino G. Tani, Marcelo S. Lagmay, Renato J. Mendoza, A.B. German, Arturo C. Leano, Agustin B. Panti, and Lucino M. Rebamontan. *Eminent Filipinos*. Manila, Philippines: National Historical Commission, 1965.
- Vining, Margaret. “Women Join the Armed Forces: The Transformation of Women’s Military Work in World War II and After (1939-1947).” In *A Companion to Women’s Military History*, edited by Barton C. Hacker and Margaret Vining. Leiden, Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2012.

- Wagner, Luis Aguero. "Paraguay: Fernando Lugo, entre el abismo de la anomia y el bochorno global." [www.protagonistascomar.blogspot.com/2009/12/paraguay-fernando-lugo-entre-el-abismo.html](http://www.protagonistascomar.blogspot.com/2009/12/paraguay-fernando-lugo-entre-el-abismo.html) (accessed February 26, 2016).
- Wah, Chin Kin and Daljit Singh, editors. *Southeast Asian Affairs 2005*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Affairs, 2005.
- Walker, Frank. "Hunt for Tyrant's Millions Leads to Former Model's Home." *The Sun Herald*. July 04, 2004. Accessed April 10, 2014.  
<http://www.smh.com.au/articles/2004/07/03/1088488200806.html>.
- Walker, Frank. "Philandering Dictator added Hollywood Star to Conquests." *The Sun Herald*. July 04, 2004. Accessed April 06, 2014.  
<http://www.smh.com.au/articles/2004/07/03/1088488200812.html>.
- Walton, Clifford Stevens. *The Civil Law in Spain and Spanish-America including Cuba, Puerto Rico and Philippine Islands, and the Spanish Civil Code in force, annotated and with references to the Civil Codes of Mexico, Central and South America*. Washington, DC: W.H. Lowdermilk, 1900.
- Weissmann, Jordan. "For Millennials, Out-of-Wedlock Childbirth is the Norm: So now what?" *Slate*. June 23, 2014. Accessed February 25, 2016.  
[www.slate.com/articles/business/moneybox/2014/06/for\\_millennials\\_out\\_of\\_wedlock\\_childbirth\\_is\\_the\\_norm\\_now\\_what.html](http://www.slate.com/articles/business/moneybox/2014/06/for_millennials_out_of_wedlock_childbirth_is_the_norm_now_what.html).
- Wickberg, E. "The Chinese Mestizo in Philippine History." *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, vol. 5, no. 1 (March 1964): 62-100.
- Wickberg, Edgar. *The Chinese Mestizo in Philippine History*. Manila, Philippines: Kaisa Para Sa Kaunlaran, Inc., 2001.
- Wilkinson, Earl K. "Philippines: Marrying Priests and Erring Priests." In *People, Priests and Pedophiles*, edited by Earl K. Wilkinson. Makati, Philippines: International Research Foundation, 1994.
- Wilkinson, Earl K. "Subject: Maria Luiza Robles." In *People Priests and Pedophiles*, edited by Earl K. Wilkinson. Makati, Philippines: International Research Foundation, 1994.
- Williams, George L. *Papal Genealogy: The Families and Descendants of the Popes*. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 1998.
- Wilson, Andrew R. *Ambition and Identity: Chinese Merchant Elites in Colonial Manila, 1880-1916*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004.
- Wolffe, John. *Religion in History: Conflict, Conversion and Coexistence*. New York: Palgrave, 2004.

- Woo, Jongseok. "Security Threats and the Military's Domestic Political Role: A Comparative Study of South Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, and Indonesia." PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2007.
- Wooden, Cindy. "For 830 Years, Apostolic Penitentiary has Focused on Forgiveness." *Catholic News Service*, 2009. Accessed August 17, 2016  
<http://www.catholicnews.com/data/stories/cns/0900179.htm>.
- Woodward, John and George Burnett. *A Treatise on Heraldry: British and Foreign with English and French Glossaries*. Vol. 2. Edinburgh, Scotland: W. & K. Johnston, 1892.
- Zamora, Fe. "The Incredible Burden of Being Genelyn Magsaysay." *Philippine Daily Inquirer*. May 05, 2012. Accessed April 15, 2014.  
<http://lifestyle.inquirer.net/46505/the-incredible-burden-of-being-genelyn-magsaysay>.